



A
V O Y A G E
R O U N D T H E
W O R L D.

I N
His BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S Sloop, RESOLUTION,
commanded by Capt. JAMES COOK, during the Years 1772, 3, 4, and 5.

By GEORGE FORSTER, F.R.S.

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Natural Knowledge at BERLIN.

V O L. II.

Mobilis enim et inquieta mens homini data est; nunquam se tenet: spargitur, et cogitationes
suas in omnia nota atque ignota dimittit; vaga et quietis impatiens, et novitate rerum læ-
tissima. SENECA.

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MDCCLXXVII.



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ERRATA of the SECOND VOLUME.

P. 40. l. 3.	<i>for</i>	mild	<i>read</i>	wild.
160. in the note, <i>dele</i> Dr. Hunter, in the Phil. Trans.				
443. in the note,	<i>for</i>	Δελφiv,	<i>read</i>	Δελφiv.
527. l. 5.		accompanid		accompanied.

A
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B O O K I I.

C H A P. V.

Run from Easter Island to the Marquesas—Stay in Madre-de-Dios harbour on Waitahoo—Course from thence through the Low Islands to Tabeitee.

THE breeze with which we sailed from Easter Island was so gentle, that we were still in sight of it the next day at noon, at the distance of fifteen leagues. The weather was rather sultry, and captain Cook relapsed into his former bilious disorder, by having exerted himself too much on shore, during the violent heat of noon. All those who had been on the long excursion across the island, had their faces blistered by the sun, and extremely painful in proportion as the skin peeled off. The short stay near the land, and the use of a few vegetables from thence, had greatly restored to their health those who were afflicted with the

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Thursday 17.

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scurvy before; and several, though excessively weak, felt no inconvenience at present. It is true, the little supply at Easter Island served only as a whet to our appetite, and made us all extremely eager in our wishes of reaching the Marquesas of Mendoza, whither we now directed our course. Very fortunately for us the wind freshened the next day, and continued so for some time, giving life to our hopes, and inspiring more cheerfulness than we had known for some months past.

In a few days, however, we were much alarmed to find several people sickening again, and particularly complaining of constipations and bilious disorders, which are deadly in hot climates. Among these was our excellent surgeon himself, whose illness gave us more pain than almost any thing else. The most unlucky circumstance was, that the patients could not eat the potatoes which we had brought from the shore, because they were too flatulent for their weakened stomachs.

Thursday 24.

A calm which happened on the 24th, our latitude being about 17° south, was very disagreeable to the sick, and brought some of them very low. Captain Cook himself was obliged to keep his bed again, being afflicted with some alarming symptoms. However the wind returned in the afternoon, and freshening considerably in a day or two, cooled the air very pleasantly. This weather was very salutary to all the bilious patients; so that they appeared on deck,

deck, and walked, or rather crawled about, though exceedingly emaciated.

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My father ordered his Taheitian dog, the only one which still remained alive after our departure from the Friendly Islands, to be killed; it was cut into quarters, which were served up to captain Cook during several days, and gave him some nourishment, as he could not venture to taste the ship's provisions. By such small helps we succeeded in preserving a life upon which the success of the voyage in a great measure depended.

We daily saw Tropic birds and shearwaters after leaving Easter Island, and frightened many shoals of flying fish out of the water. These fish were remarkably numerous on the 27th, when we saw none but small ones, the largest not exceeding the length of a finger, and the least scarcely so long as one of its joints. Our latitude that day, at noon, was $13^{\circ} 13'$ south.

Saturday 27.

Since the calm on the 24th we had a fine steady gale from the eastward, which speeded our course prodigiously. The weather in general was serene, and the colour of the ocean a fine rich blue, bearing always a considerable relation to that of the sky. Dolphins, bonitos, and sharks appeared from time to time, and various birds at war with flying fishes enlivened the scene. To add to our comfort, the heat of the sun became perfectly agreeable to us, being tempered by the rapid motion of the air, and permitted us

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to walk about the decks with some satisfaction. Nothing less was wanting to keep up our fainting spirits, and to strengthen the sick, who might be said to feed entirely upon hope, having no refreshments to restore their wasted strength. We had already consumed all the vegetables which had been purchased at Easter Island; nothing therefore remained, but either to return to the loathed diet of salted meat, of which the juices were utterly destroyed, by lying in pickle for three years, or to starve on a small quantity of bread, if the stomach could not digest those gross and unprofitable fibres. We were therefore unanimous in our wishes of a speedy deliverance; and in proportion as the breeze slackened or increased, the thermometer of our expectations fluctuated from abject despondence to the most sanguine expectation. All our books which treated of Mendaña's Voyages were consulted; and since the vague expressions, relative to the distance of the Marquesas from Peru, gave us full scope for conjecture, every day produced a new calculation of their longitude. For the space of five days we successively passed over the different positions which our new geographers had allotted to those islands, and overturned each new hypothesis, not without some diversion to the rest, who either artfully concealed their own opinion, or candidly confessed that the *data* were too uncertain to bear a superstructure. During this course we enjoyed some beautiful evenings, and particularly observed the sky and clouds

clouds tinged with different hues of green by the setting sun, on the 3d of April. This colour has been observed by Frezier before, and is in fact nothing extraordinary, especially if the air happens to be charged with vapours, which is frequently the case between the tropics. The same day we had caught a small sucking fish, adhering to a flying fish, with which we had baited a hook: a proof that these little creatures are not always fixed to sharks. The same day we saw a large fish of the genus of rays, which is called a sea-devil by some authors. It perfectly resembled that which we had seen in the Atlantic, on the first of September, 1772. (See vol. I. p. 47.) The number of terns, tropic, and man of war birds, increased around us almost every day, as we ran to the westward, and approached the islands which we expected to find. At last, on the 6th of April in the afternoon, we had sight of a small bluff island; but the haze which involved it, and which thickened as we advanced, prevented our examining the nature of the land, and building any hopes of refreshment on its appearance. Quiros, who is supposed to have written the account of the voyage of the Spanish Adelentado (or captain-general) Don Alvaro Mendaña de Neyra, in the year 1595, gives a favourable account of the group of islands discovered in that voyage, which were named the *Islas Marquesas de Mendoza*, in honour of the viceroy of Peru, Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza, marquis of

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of Cañete, who had set on foot that expedition. We had recourse to this account, in order to gain some information relative to the land which now engrossed all our attention.

Thursday 7. The next morning we stood in-shore, and though the weather still continued hazy, we soon distinguished the different islands which the Spaniards have called la Dominica, St. Pedro, and St. Christina. We were convinced at the same time, that the small bluff island which we had first fallen in with, had not been seen by Mendaña; and captain Cook gave it the name of Hood's Island, from the person who first discovered it. La Dominica, which lay nearest to us, was a high and mountainous island, of which the N. E. point was very steep and barren; but farther to the north we observed some vallies filled with trees, amongst which we now and then discovered a hut. As the haze cleared away, we saw many craggy rocks like spires, and several hollow summits piled up in the centre of the island, which proved that volcanoes and earthquakes had been active there in changing the face of the country. All its eastern part is a prodigious steep and almost perpendicular wall, of a great height, which forms a sharp ridge, shattered into spires and precipices. St. Pedro is a small island, of very moderate elevation, but did not appear either fertile or populous. St. Christina, the westernmost of all, had the most promising appearance; and, though very high and steep, yet had several vallies, which widened to-
wards

wards the sea, and were covered with fine forests to the summits of the mountain. About three o'clock we entered the straits, between the south end of Dominica, and the N. E. part of St. Christina, which is above two miles wide. We observed some pleasant spots on both islands, between the clefts of the mountain; but saw no plains, like those which so greatly embellish the Society Islands. The shore of St. Christina was, however, sufficient to revive all our spirits, and inspired that cheerfulness which every fertile and pleasing prospect gives to the weary mariner. We passed several little coves, where the white foaming surf tumbled in upon the beach. The two projecting points of every cove included a valley, filled with forests and plantations, of a pleasing verdure. On every beach we saw some inhabitants running about, or gazing at our ship. Sometimes they launched their canoes, and attempted to come after us; but a strong breeze carried us so swiftly through the smooth water, that we left them far behind. We found a harbour on the west side of the island, which looked so tempting, that we eagerly wished to come to an anchor; but just as we were turning about, in order to run into it, a heavy squall came over the high mountain with prodigious violence, and laid the ship on her side, so that we sprung our mizen-topmast, and narrowly escaped being driven against the southern point of the harbour. After we had trimmed our sails again, we tacked, and anchored

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about

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about five o'clock in the entrance of the harbour. During the squall, about fifteen canoes, putting off from different parts of the island, came near the ship. Some were double, and contained fifteen men; others, on the contrary, were small, and had from three to seven men. As soon as we were at anchor, we invited the natives, by every sign of friendship, and by addressing them in the Tahitian language, to come on board. This they did not venture to do; but at first they brought their canoes close alongside, and offered us some pepper-roots, which were doubtless signs of peace, as at the Society and Friendly Islands. After we had fastened these roots to the shrouds, they sold us a few fish in exchange for nails, and likewise some excellent large bread-fruit, perfectly ripe, at sight of which our whole ship's company expressed the greatest marks of joy in their countenances.

The natives about us were a well-made, handsome people, of a good yellowish or tawny colour, but looked almost black, by being punctured over the whole body. They were all naked, having only a small piece of cloth, perfectly resembling that made by the people of Tahitee, round their waist and loins. Their beards and hair were of a fine jetty black, and their language much nearer the Tahitian, than any other dialect in the South Sea, with this difference, that they could not pronounce the *r*. Their canoes were thin, and formed of boards slightly sewed together,

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gether, and their paddles were made like those of Taheitee, with a knob at the end. We continually enquired for hogs, and told them to bring us some; and towards night we had the satisfaction to see a pig along-side, which we purchased for a knife. As soon as it was dark, the canoes retired, according to the general custom of all the nations in the South Sea we had hitherto seen, on whom the novelty of an European ship cannot prevail to wake a single night. The vallies in our harbour were very full of trees, and every part answered the graphical description which the Spaniards have given, and by which we were well convinced that their harbour of *Madre de Dios* was the same where we had anchored *. Its situation, deduced from astronomical observation, is in $9^{\circ} 55'$ S. latitude, and $139^{\circ} 8'$ W. longitude. We saw many fires through the trees, at a great distance from the water, and concluded the country to be well inhabited. The next morning early we had a full view of the land, clear of the clouds which rested on it in the evening. On the south side rises a peak, which is very craggy and inaccessible. All the north side is a black, burnt hill, of which the rock is vaulted along the sea-shore, and the top clad to the summit with a shrubbery of casuarinas. But the bottom of the harbour is filled up with a very high ridge, level at top, and resembling the

Friday 2.

* See Mr. Dalrymple's Collection, vol. I. p. 66.

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Table-mountain at the Cape of Good Hope. Several vallies, perfectly filled with trees, lead up from two beaches to the very fummit of the mountain, which appears excessively steep. Along its uppermost edge we saw a row of flakes or pallifadoes, closely connected together, like a fortification, within which, by the help of our glassës, we discerned something like huts. These places we supposed to be what the Spaniards have called intrenchments; but they bore a great resemblance to the hippas of the New Zealanders, which are commonly situated on high ridges, and surrounded with pallifades.

The natives, encouraged by the trade which we had begun the evening before, came off in several canoes, soon after sun-rise, and brought great quantities of bread fruit, which we bought for small nails. They likewise sold some bananas, and traded very fair for some time, but without venturing to come on board. However, after breakfast, it appeared that their disposition had but too much similarity with that of the Taheitians. Some of them began to deal dishonestly with us, receiving the nail for which they had offered a bread-fruit, without delivering it in return. The captain, to intimidate them, fired a musket over their heads. This had the desired effect, and they immediately handed up the fruit for which we had bargained. Some others, after they had sold their goods, came on board to be gazed at, and to gaze. While captain

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tain Cook prepared to go into his boat with my father, one of these natives, finding the large iron stanchion loose, to which the man-ropes on the ship's side, by which we ascended or descended, were fastened, snatched it up, leaped overboard with it, and, notwithstanding its weight, swam with great agility to his canoe, where he secured it. This hazardous enterprize being reported to captain Cook, who was just stepping into the boat, he ordered a musket to be fired over the native's head, whilst he meant to come round the ship, to recover the stanchion. The musket was fired, but the man took no notice of it, looking about him with great unconcern. The captain hearing it, ordered another to be fired, and put off from the ship. The second shot had no other effect than the first; upon which an officer, who that moment came upon deck, snatched up a musket, and taking exact aim, shot the man through the head. His companion in the same canoe instantly threw the iron into the sea, which had been the cause of this unfortunate event. The captain in his boat came up, and saw the canoe full of blood, and the dead corpse lying in it. The other native baled the blood out into the sea, and then retired to the shore with all the other canoes, and left us perfectly alone. The natives on the beach hauled the canoe through the surf, and carried the corpse up into the woods. Presently after we heard drums beating, and saw a considerable number of the inhabitants assembled on the beach,

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with spears and clubs in their hands, which had a very unfriendly appearance, and rather seemed to threaten that we had no farther refreshments to expect. We cannot but lament, that the time in which this man was killed, by a person who was ignorant of the nature of his offence, did not admit of any previous consideration. The first discoverers and conquerors of America have often, and very deservedly, been stigmatised with cruelty, because they treated the wretched nations of that continent, not as their brethren, but as irrational beasts, whom it was lawful to shoot for diversion; and yet, in our enlightened age, prejudice and rashness have often proved fatal to the inhabitants of the South Sea. Mahine burst into tears, when he saw one man killing another on so trifling an occasion. Let his feelings put those civilized Europeans to the blush, who have humanity so often on their lips, and so seldom in their hearts!

Captain Cook, knowing the weak condition of his crew, was unwilling to relinquish the hope of procuring refreshments at this island; and therefore, after directing the ship to be removed deeper into the harbour, selected a party of marines and sailors, and landed under the vaulted rocks to the northward, accompanied by Dr. Sparrman, Mahine, my father, and myself. A great troop of the natives, consisting of more than a hundred men, received us on these rocks with spears and clubs in their hands, of which they did not attempt

attempt to make any use. We approached them with demonstrations of friendship, which they returned; and our first request was that they should sit down, to which they instantly agreed. We then endeavoured to shew the best side of what had happened, and acquainted them that we had only shot at one of their countrymen, because he had made free with our property; that we were desirous of living as friends with them; and that we only came to take in wood, water, and refreshments, for which we had nails, hatchets, and other curious articles to offer in return. The natives were pacified by our specious reasonings; they seemed to think their countryman had deserved his fate, and conducted us round the beach to a fine brook, where we established our waterers, and began to purchase some fruits, which were at first brought down very sparingly. For greater security, the marines were drawn up in a line, under arms, and our return to the water secured. But we had no occasion for these precautions; the people with whom we dealt were too honest to break a peace to which they had consented, and of too gentle a disposition to revenge the death of a man whom they could not entirely acquit. In a short time our trade went on more briskly, and the natives came down with loads of plantanes, bananas, and bread-fruit from the hills, which they sold for a trifling consideration of iron ware.

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Among the croud we saw no women, they having probably retired to the mountains on the first alarm ; but there were some men better armed and ornamented than the rest, who seemed to be their leaders. They were all without cloathing, having nothing but a small piece of cloth to cover the loins. They were tall, and extremely well limbed ; not one of them unweildly or corpulent like a Tahitian, nor meagre and shrivelled like a native of Easter Island. The punctuation which almost entirely covered the men of a middle age, made it difficult to distinguish their elegance of form ; but among the youths, who were not yet marked or tattowed, it was easy to discover beauties singularly striking, and often without a blemish, such as demanded the admiration of all beholders. Many of them might be placed near the famous models of antiquity, and would not suffer in the comparifon :

Qualis aut Nireus fuit, aut aquosâ
Raptus ab Idâ.

HOR.

The natural colour of these youths was not quite so dark as that of the common people in the Society Isles ; but the men appeared to be infinitely blacker, on account of the punctures which covered their whole body, from head to foot. These punctures were disposed with the utmost regularity ; so that the marks on each leg, arm, and cheek,
and

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and on the corresponding muscles, were exactly similar. They never assumed the determinate form of an animal or plant, but consisted of a variety of blotches, spirals, bars, chequers, and lines, which had a most motley appearance. Their countenances were pleasing, open, and full of vivacity; their eyes were large and dark-coloured; their hair black, curled, and strong; a few excepted, who had light-coloured or sandy hair. The beard however was thin in general, on account of the numerous scars of punctures which commonly covered that part of the face. The number of ornaments, in some measure, might be said to supply the want of cloathing. On their heads many of them wore a kind of diadem; this consisted of a flat bandage wrought of coco-nut core, on the outside of which several round pieces of mother of pearl, some of them five inches in diameter, were fixed, covered in the middle with a plate of tortoise-shell, perforated like fret-work. Several tufts of long, black, and glossy cock's feathers formed the plumes to this head-dress, which was really beautiful and noble in its kind. Some wore round coronets of the small ligulated feathers of the man of war bird, and others a circle, from whence several ranges of twisted strings of coco-nut core, about two inches long, either of the natural colour, or dyed black, diverged round the head. In their ears they sometimes placed two flat pieces of a light wood, of an oval shape, about three inches long, covering the whole ear, and
painted

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painted them white with lime. Their leaders wore a kind of gorget round the neck, or rather on the breast; it consisted of small portions of a light wood, like cork, glued together with gum, in a semicircular form; a quantity of scarlet-beans (*abrus precatorius*, Linn.) are glued all round it with the same gum, forming a great number of rows, of the length of two or three inches. Those who were not possessed of this glaring ornament, at least wore a string round the neck, and fastened it to a piece of shell, which was cut and polished in the shape of a large tooth. They were also fond of having bunches of human hair tied on a string round their waist, arms, knees, and ancles. All these ornaments they freely parted with for a trifling consideration, except the last, which they valued very highly, though they were the usual residence of many vermin. It is probable that these bunches of hair were worn in remembrance of their dead relations, and therefore looked upon with some veneration; or else they may be the spoils of their enemies, worn as the honourable testimonies of victory. However a large nail, or something which struck their eyes, commonly got the better of their scruples.

After we had made these observations on the people who surrounded us, we left the beach, and rambled through the woods at a short distance from captain Cook's station, collecting several plants, of which we had seen the greatest part at the Society Islands. As we did not care to advance
far

far into the country the first day, we confined ourselves to the low land, which bordered upon the beach, and which we found entirely uninhabited. However we met with a number of square compartments among the trees, laid out with great stones, mostly of a regular square figure; which we afterwards learnt, were the foundations of their houses. It may be conjectured from thence, that these places have been abandoned, on account of some inconvenience of the ground; or that they are only made use of at certain seasons. All this part was destitute of plantations, and covered with forest-trees, some of which seemed to be very good timber. The natives did not attempt to stop us, and left us to pursue our walk entirely by ourselves. A little hill, covered with long grass up to our middle, and broken into a perpendicular wall to the sea, juts forward, and divides this beach from another to the southward. On the north side of this hill we found a fine spring of clear water, in the very place where the Spanish navigators have described it, which gushes out of the rock, and is collected in a little basin, from whence it flows into the sea. A brook runs down from the higher hills close to it; another more considerable descends on the middle of the beach, and supplied us with water; and again another is to be met with in the northern corner. This island is therefore extremely well watered; and the vegetation, as well as the inhabitants, evidently derive great benefit from it in this hot climate.

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We soon returned to the trading place with our acquisitions, and conversed with the natives, who had now so far laid aside their distrust, as to part with their arms to us for our iron tools. These weapons were all made of the clubwood, or casuarina*, and were either plain spears, about eight or ten feet long, or clubs, which commonly had a large knob at one end. Captain Cook had been very successful in the meanwhile, having procured a great quantity of fruit and several hogs, with all which we embarked in our boats at noon. The weather which had been very warm on shore, was really much cooler on board, where the wind came down in strong gusts from the mountains, sometimes attended with small showers.

In the afternoon I remained on board, but my father accompanied the captain on shore, and went up the hill a little way to a wretched hut; but finding no inhabitants there, who had probably been alarmed by their shooting at birds, he put several nails on a few bread-fruit, which he saw close to the hut, and then descended to the beach with some botanical acquisitions.

Saturday 9.

Seven canoes arrived about the ship from La Dominica the next morning, whilst several others from St. Christina went up the strait. The former seemed to be of the same nation with those with whom we were already ac-

* The Tahitians call it *tâä*, which signifies war, because it furnishes the instruments of bloodshed.

quainted,

acquainted, and brought the same fruits to sell, which we had purchased in this island. We went on shore after breakfast, and found our friendly natives assembled on the beach. Among them was a chief, who was dressed in a cloak manufactured of the paper-mulberry bark, like the Taheitian cloth, and who wore the diadem, the gorget, the ear-pendants, and bunches of hair. We learnt that this man was the king of the whole island, though he had not great respect shewn him. He presented captain Cook with some fruits and hogs, and continued in the neighbourhood of our people the whole day. He acquainted us that his name was *Hōnoo* *, and that he was *he-ka-ai*, which was doubtless a title corresponding to the aree of Taheitee, and areekee of the Friendly Islands. He seemed to be a very good-natured, intelligent man, a character so prevalent in his countenance, that Mr. Hodges, who drew his picture, could not fail of expressing it, as may be seen in the print of him, in captain Cook's account of this voyage. We enquired for the name of this island and the adjacent ones, and found that St. Christina was called WAITAHOO, La Dominica HEEVAROA, and St. Pedro ONATEYO. Mahine, who was excessively fond of

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* This word signifies a turtle, or sea-tortoise, in the Taheitian language; it is therefore probable that the names of these people sometimes are taken from animals, like those of the North-American Indians. In the same manner *O-Too*, the name of the king of Taheitee, signifies a heron.

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these people, on account of the vast similarity between their manners, language and persons, and those of his nation, was continually engaged in conversation with them, and purchased a great number of their ornaments. He shewed them many customs of his country, with which they were unacquainted, and among these was the method of lighting a fire, by rubbing together the dry sticks of the *hibiscus tiliaceus*, to which they were extremely attentive. Captain Cook found a great quantity of vegetables, some fowls and hogs, at the trading place, which he purchased for small nails, knives, pieces of cloth, &c. The red feathers of Tonga-Tabboo, or Amsterdam Island, were likewise in great repute here, and the natives gave many head-dresses, and other ornaments, in exchange for them. We saw only one woman this day, who sat down in the circle of her countrymen, and was dressed in a piece of cloth made of bark, like the women of the Society Islands. She was an elderly woman, and scarce distinguishable from a Taheitian. We walked this day about a mile and a half, on the south side of the rivulet. After crossing a clear spot, from whence we had a full prospect of the harbour, we entered a thick wood, where we saw chiefly the ratta, or Taheitee nut-trees (*inocarpus* *) which grew to a considerable size and height, and some fine bread-fruit trees; both which are

* See Forst. Nova Genera Plantar.

planted

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planted in the plains at Taheitee, the heat being less violent there than at these islands. At last we came to one of the huts of the natives, which, in comparison with the lofty houses of the Society Islands, was only a wretched hovel. It was placed on an elevated platform of stones, which were not smooth and even enough to form a very comfortable couch, though they were covered with mats. On this base the natives had erected a quantity of bamboo-canes, closely connected together, between five and six feet high, above which the roof rose in a ridge at top, consisting of small sticks, thatched with the leaves of the bread-fruit and ratta tree. The whole house might be about fifteen feet long, and eight or ten feet broad, and the method of placing it on a foundation of stones, seemed to intimate that the country is subject to heavy rains and inundations at certain seasons. We saw some large wooden troughs here, and found pieces of bread-fruit, mixed with water, in them. Three natives appeared near the hut, who, at our desire, went down about a hundred yards to the brook, and brought us some fresh water to drink. Having rewarded them for their readiness to serve us, we walked to the beach, and from thence returned on board. In getting into our boat, we ran the greatest risk in the world of being overset, and were wetted by the surf, which broke upon the rocks. Mahine, who still remained on shore, plunged into the water, and swam to the boat, to prevent our exposing

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posing ourselves once more to the same danger in taking him in.

Dr. Sparrman staid on board with me in the afternoon, describing and drawing some plants which we had collected in the morning ; but my father returned ashore with the captain to the southern beach, where he found several habitations near the sea, but saw no women. This was the same beach to which the natives had carried the dead body of their countryman. They were conducted to a house, which had been that unfortunate man's dwelling, and saw several hogs there, now the property of his son, a youth of fifteen years, to whom they made several expiatory presents. Our people enquired for his female relations, but were told they remained on the top of the mountain, to weep and mourn for the dead. We had some reason to suspect, from this account, that the pallisades or enclosures along the top of the rock, surrounded the burying-places of the inhabitants. The captain purchased a quantity of fruit, and several hogs, at this beach ; and though he was in the midst of the relations of a man whom our people had killed, he did not perceive the least animosity or spirit of revenge amongst them.

The next morning Dr. Sparrman went on shore with me to the watering place, where the trade for provisions was very considerable. Our iron ware was however lowered in value at least two hundred per cent. since our anchorage in
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the harbour. Our small nails, which they had eagerly taken at first, were now no longer current; and even the large ones were not much coveted. Beads were not esteemed at all; but ribbons, cloth, and other trifles were more agreeable. Some large hogs were purchased for pieces of the mulberry-bark, covered with red feathers, which we had obtained at the island of Amsterdam or Tonga-Tabboo.

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The weather was exceedingly hot this day, for which reason many of the inhabitants made use of large fans to cool themselves. These fans, of which they sold us a great number, were formed of a kind of tough bark or grafs, very firmly and curiously plaited, and frequently whitened with shell-lime. Some also had large feathered leaves, which answered the purpose of an umbrella, and upon examination, were found to belong to the *corypha umbraculifera*, Linn. a kind of palm. The fans are represented on a reduced scale on the same plate, with the head-dresses of these people, and inserted in captain Cook's account of this voyage.

Notwithstanding the immense heat of the day, we resolved to ascend the mountain, in hopes of being well rewarded for the trouble, by the discoveries we should make. The pallifades at the top were particularly what we aimed at, none of our people having hitherto any idea of them. Mr. Patton and two other gentlemen were of the party. We
soon

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soon crossed the fine rivulet, at which our people watered, and followed the path on the north side, seeing that the greatest number of inhabitants had come down from thence. The ascent was at first not very fatiguing; several gentle hills formed the fore-ground, which were almost level on the summits, and contained several spacious plantations of bananas, in excellent order. These spots always opened upon us unexpectedly, as the rest of our way lay through a close tufted wood of fruit-trees, mixed with other sorts, extremely pleasant to us; on account of the thick and cooling shade. Here and there we met with a solitary coco-nut palm, which, far from lifting its royal head with becoming pride, was out-topped and hid by meaner trees. In general these trees do not thrive well upon mountains, preferring a low situation; infomuch that they abound upon the coral-ledges, where they have scarcely soil sufficient to take root. A few natives accompanied us, and some others met us with fruit, which they carried to our trading place. In proportion as we ascended, we passed a number of their houses, which were all built upon an elevated base of stones, and exactly upon the plan of that which I have described, page 21. Some of them seemed to be very lately built, and looked very clean within; but we could not distinguish the number of beds in them, of which the Spaniards make mention, and suspected that they only meant different mats spread on the floor. The ground be-
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came much steeper and rugged as we advanced. The rivulet frequently ran in a deep glen, on the brink of which the path was rather dangerous. We were likewise obliged to cross the water several times in our way; but always found the habitations more numerous towards the top. We rested in several places, and were presented with fruit and a little water by the natives, who resembled the Tahitians too much in other respects, to be unlike them in hospitality. We never saw a single deformed, nor even ill-proportioned man among them; all were strong, tall, well-limbed, and active in the greatest degree. The nature of their country contributes towards their activity; and the exercise which they are obliged to take, probably preserves their elegance of form. Having advanced near three miles from the sea side, we saw a young woman, who came out of a house before us, and hastened up the hills as fast as we advanced. She was dressed in a piece of cloth, made of the mulberry-tree's bark, and reaching to the knees. Her features were like those of the Tahitee women, as far as we could discern at the distance of thirty yards, which she took care to preserve between herself and us, and her stature was middle sized. The natives made many signs to us to return, and seemed to be very uneasy and much displeased at our progress. Dr. Sparrman and myself, desirous of preserving the plants which we had collected, turned back, whilst Mr. Patton and the rest went on about two miles farther, with-

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out seeing any thing more than ourselves. We were the more easily persuaded to desist from our purpose, as the heat of the day, our precarious state of health, and the fatigue of the ascent, had entirely exhausted us, and as we saw no prospect of reaching the summit. It appeared indeed at least three miles distant from the place where we stopped, the greatest part of which seemed to be infinitely steeper than what we had hitherto left behind us. The whole ground, as far as we had gone, was covered with a rich mould, and contained excellent plantations, and groves of various fruit-trees. The rocks under this mould, which appeared chiefly near the banks of the rivulet, or on the broken sides of the path, contained volcanic productions, or different kinds of lava, some of which are full of white and greenish sherls. These islands are therefore similar, in regard to their origin and the nature of their minerals, to the Society Islands, the greater part of which seem to have had burning mountains. About the houses we frequently saw hogs, and fowls of a large sort, and now and then some rats. The trees were likewise inhabited by several small birds, which resembled those of Taheitee and the Society Islands; but they were not frequent, and in no great variety. The Marquesas, upon the whole, so much resemble the Society Islands, that they only seemed to want the beautiful ambient plain, and the coral reef, which forms their excellent harbours. No people in the South Sea, whom we had hitherto met with,

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with were so much like each other in form, customs, and language, as the inhabitants of both these groups of islands. The principal difference seemed to lie in the different degrees of cleanliness. The Tahitians, and their next neighbours of the Society Islands, are perhaps the cleanliest people under the sun; they bathe two or three times a day, and wash their hands and face before and after every meal. The inhabitants of the Marquesas did not make their ablutions so frequently, and were besides very slovenly in the manner of preparing their meals. Their principal food is bread-fruit, which they roast over the fire, rarely baking it under ground; when it is sufficiently done, they put it into a very dirty wooden trough, out of which their hogs are fed at other times, and mix it up with water. This mixture they scoop out with their hands. They also prepare fermented paste from their bread-fruit, of which they make the same kind of acidulous pottage, which is a great dainty with the Tahitian chiefs. Their bread-fruit is doubtless the largest and most delicious which we ever tasted; and as we bought many of them perfectly ripe, we found them as soft as a kind of custard, and in that state too luscious to be eaten. Their food consists of the same variety of fruit and roots which are common at Taheitee, except the apple (*spondias*.) Their diet is chiefly vegetable; though they have hogs and fowls, and catch abundance of fish at certain times. Their drink

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is purely water, since coco-nuts are scarce, at least in the parts which we visited. It is however to be suspected, that since they have the pepper-root, and make use of it as a sign of peace, like the other islanders, they may also prepare the same dainty beverage from it, with which the others intoxicate themselves. They are peculiarly cleanly in regard to the *egesta*. At the Society Islands the wanderer's eyes and nose are offended every morning, in the midst of a path, with the natural effects of a sound digestion: but the natives of the Marquesas are accustomed, after the manner of our cats, to bury the offensive objects in the earth. At Taheitee, indeed, they depend on the friendly assistance of rats, who greedily devour these odoriferous dainties; nay they seemed to be convinced that their custom is the most proper in the world; for their witty countryman, Tupaya (Tupia), found fault with our want of delicacy, when he saw a little building, appropriated to the rites of Cloacina, in every house at Batavia.

We hastened down to the sea-side, in order to reach it before our boats put off. When we came to the ship, we found it surrounded with canoes from different parts, who brought several hogs and plenty of bananas for sale. The alarm which our unfortunate act of violence had spread among the natives on the first day, was now forgotten, and they came into the ship in great numbers, conversing familiarly with our people, and expressing great satisfaction.

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at every thing which they saw. They had even so far laid aside all thoughts of what had happened, that many began to pilfer again, as often as an opportunity offered; however, if they were detected, they never failed to return very quietly what they had taken. They frequently danced upon the decks, for the diversion of our sailors; and in these dances we observed a striking resemblance with those of Taheitee. It appeared likewise that their music was nearly the same, especially as they had the same kind of drums, of which Mahine purchased one. Their canoes were likewise very similar to those of Taheitee, but of no great size. The heads commonly had some flat upright piece, on which the human face was coarsely carved; and their sails were made of mats, triangular, and very broad at the top. The paddles which they used were made of a heavy hard wood, short, but sharp-pointed, and with a knob at the upper end.

I staid on board in the afternoon, and ranged the collections which we had hitherto made. In the evening, captain Cook, with some officers, Mr. Hodges, Dr. Sparrman, and my father, returned on board, having been out all the afternoon to visit two coves to the south of our harbour. They found these places extremely open, and exposed to the sea, and run great risk in landing and embarking, on account of the prodigious surf on the beach. They met with abundance of refreshments for their pains, and
purch-

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purchased several hogs. The natives were less reserved in both places than in our harbour, and a considerable number of women appeared among them, with whom the boat's crew soon became acquainted, since several of them had as much complaisance as certain ladies at the Society and Friendly Islands, New Zealand, and Easter Island. They were inferior to the men in stature, but well proportioned, and some in feature approached the pleasing contour of the Taheitian women of quality. Their general colour was the same as among the common people of the Society Islands, and only very few were a little fairer than the rest. No punctures were observed on them, though the other sex are so much accustomed to disfigure themselves with this unsightly ornament. One of the handsomest consented to be drawn by Mr. Hodges, and an exact engraving, made from his drawing, is inserted in captain Cook's account of this voyage. All the women wore pieces of cloth of the mulberry bark, of different sorts; but the variety of these cloths was very trifling, compared with what it is at Taheitee; and it seemed the quantity was likewise inconsiderable, for, instead of being wrapped up in that number of pieces, so common among the luxurious chiefs of that island, they only wore a single *abòw* or cloak, which covered them from the shoulders to the knees. Round their necks they sometimes had a few loose strings, which were not very ornamental; but our people took notice of no other

other finery among them. After a short stay, our party prepared to return to their boat. One of the sailors, having been inattentive to his duty, received several blows from the captain. This trifling circumstance would not deserve a place in this narrative, but for the observation, which the natives made upon it. As soon as they saw it, they shewed it one to another, and exclaimed *tape a-hai te tina*, "he beats his brother." We were well convinced from other instances that they knew the difference between the commander and his people; but it appeared at the same time, that they looked upon us all as brethren. The most natural inference in my mind is, that they only applied an idea to us in this case, which really exists with regard to themselves. They probably look on themselves as one family, of which the eldest-born is the chief or king. As their community is not yet arrived at that degree of civilization which the Tahitians enjoy, a difference of rank does not take place among them and their political constitution has not acquired a settled monarchical form. The nature of their country, which requires a greater labour and culture than Tahitee, is one great cause of this difference; for since the means of subsistence are not so easily attained, the population and the general luxury, cannot be so considerable, and the people remain upon a level. Agreeable to this observation, we have found that no particular honour or respect was paid to their king Honoo, who visited us on the

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second day after our arrival. All his pre-eminence seemed to consist in his dress, which was more complete than that of many of his people, who by choice, or through indolence, go naked in a happy tropical climate, where cloathing is not wanted.

day 11.

The next morning the captain went to the same cove again, but was much less successful than on the preceding evening. The natives, who were not yet sufficiently acquainted with the excellence and durability of our iron ware, refused to take it any longer, and coveted a number of articles, which it was not in our power to part with. In the afternoon, therefore, we weighed the anchor, and stood out of the harbour of Madre de Dios, where we had lain something less than four days. We had provided a considerable quantity of excellent water during that time, and obtained a very salutary supply of refreshments from a friendly and well-disposed people. Our acquisitions in natural history had been but inconsiderable, from the great similarity of this island to Taheitee and the adjacent group, and on account of our very short stay. The same causes had likewise prevented our forming a more perfect acquaintance with the natives, who seemed to be well worth the contemplation of philosophic travellers. We particularly regretted, that it had not been in our power to examine those enclosures on the summits of the mountain, which, as I still suspect, have some connection with
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their religious rites. The Spaniards make mention of an oracle *, which, from their accounts, seems to have been a burying-place, like those of the Society Islands; but we were likewise unfortunate enough not to meet with any thing of this kind. The number of these good people cannot be very considerable, on account of the small size of the islands which they inhabit. *Waitahoo*, or St. Christina, is about eight leagues in circuit; *O-Heeva-roa* †, or Dominica, fifteen leagues; *Onateyo*, or St. Pedro, three leagues; and Magdalena, which we only saw at a great distance, five leagues, according to the Spanish account. The natives of these different islands, we have great reason to believe, are all of one and the same tribe, like the people of Tahitee and the Society Isles; we may at least affirm it with certainty of those of St. Christina and Dominica, having conversed and traded with both. The island of Dominica, the largest of the Marquesas, is so excessively steep and craggy in many parts, that its inhabitants cannot be so numerous as those of St. Christina in proportion to its size. Such spots as are fit for culture are very populous in these islands; but as they are all very mountainous, and have many inaccessible

* See Mr. Dalrymple's Collection of Voyages, vol. i. p. 68.

† It is remarkable, that this name occurs in the list of islands which Tupaya and other natives of the Society Isles communicated to their English friends. The people of the Marquesas who could not pronounce the *r*, always said *O-Heeva-oo*.

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and barren rocks, it is to be doubted whether the whole population of this group amounts to fifty thousand persons. The Spaniards, who discovered them, found their manners gentle and inoffensive, if we except a trifling difference at Magdalena, which probably arose from some misunderstanding, or from the impetuous temper of those navigators. When we arrived amongst them, we were received with every mark of friendship. They presented us with roots of pepper, and branches of tamannoo (*calophyllum inophyllum*, Linn.) in sign of peace; they sold us their provisions; and though we killed one of their brethren, they continued the same kind treatment, and permitted us to roam about their country to a great distance without molestation. This behaviour, their manners, their beautiful forms, their dresses, provisions, embarkations, and their language, prove that they have the same origin with the Taheitians, and only differ from them in a few respects, which the nature of their country required. The advantages which the rich encircling plains bestow on the Taheitians and their near neighbours, must drop in great measure at the Marquesas. When they have cultivated as much ground as will afford them the means of subsistence, there is none remaining for those extensive plantations of mulberry-trees, which every where strike the eye at Taheitee: indeed if they had the ground, they cannot afford to bestow the time which this
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branch of culture requires. The great sources of Taheitian affluence and luxury, their profusion of food, and their vast variety and quantity of cloth, do not exist in the Marquesas: but the inhabitants have a competence; they are all equal among themselves; they are active, very healthy, and beautifully made; there is nothing which can make them unhappy, by debarring them the means of obeying nature's voice. The Taheitians have more comforts and conveniencies; they have perhaps superior skill in the arts, and these things give them a greater relish for the enjoyment of life; but to balance these advantages, they are no longer upon a level; one part lives by the labours of the other, and diseases already wait upon their excesses.

————— Scilicet improbæ
Crescunt divitiæ, tamen
Curtæ nescio quid semper abest rei. HOR.

The fruits and fresh meat which we obtained at the Marquesas, may be considered as the first restoratives after a cruize of four months and a half; during which we visited the frozen zone to 71 deg. and the torrid to $9\frac{1}{2}$ deg. S. latitude. The small supply of potatoes at Easter Island was only a medicine, which providentially stopped the rapid progress of various diseases on board, but could not prevent their return, when we approached the torrid zone; whose active heat set our stagnant and putrid blood into a

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state of fermentation. The wan look of all on board sufficiently proved, that our meeting with the Marquesas prevented a fatal and general attack of noxious distempers, which would have found us an easy prey, and might, in a short space of time, have made great havock in our ship. It must be allowed, at the same time, that, as far as human art, and a humane beneficent disposition will go, our worthy surgeon, Mr. Patton, took the best precautions possible to preserve the healths of all on board, by suggesting the proper methods to captain Cook, and by watching over us with unremitted assiduity. I will venture to affirm, that it is to him alone, under Providence, that many of us are indebted for our lives ; and that his country owes him the preservation of those valuable and useful members of the commonwealth, who were sent out on this dangerous expedition. Great commendations are likewise due to captain Cook, who left no experiment untried which was proposed to him, and which seemed to promise success. The fate of the voyage depended upon the health of the crew, and he had the more merit in taking his measures agreeably to this reflection, since, however obvious it may seem, it has seldom guided other naval commanders.

The short stay at the Marquesas had not been sufficient to restore our patients to perfect health, and those who had the bilious cholic were rather worse than before, having ventured to eat flatulent fruits, which were extremely dangerous

gerous in a weak stomach. Captain Cook himself was far from being recovered ; for though he had experienced the bad effects of exposing himself to the burning rays of the sun at Easter Island, he had been active all the time, in purchasing provisions, and superintending his people on shore. The effort which I had made in climbing the mountain, had likewise been too violent for my precarious state of health, and threw me into a dangerous bilious disorder, which was the more mortifying, as it happened just at a time, when the scene for my occupations was to open.

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We steered S. S. W. from St. Christina, and afterwards changed the course to S. W. and W. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. bringing to, every night, for greater safety, as we were now very near the archipelago of low islands, which had always been looked upon as a very intricate part of the Pacific Ocean. The Dutch navigators, in particular, have given an unfavourable idea of it ; for Schouten calls it the Bad Sea, and Roggeveen the Labyrinth. The latter lost one of his ships, the African Galley, on a low island, which, from that unfortunate accident, he called Pernicious Island. This circumstance having happened within the memory of man, is known among the Society Isles ; from whence we may conclude, that Pernicious Island cannot be at a great distance from that group.

On the 17th we discovered a low island, about ten o'clock in the morning, and coming up with it about noon, we
were

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were convinced, from the perspicuity of Mr. Byron's description, that it was the easternmost of King George's Islands. We were also confirmed in this belief towards night, when we perceived the other island, which he comprehended under that name. The island before us was extremely low and sandy, and formed an elliptic rocky ledge, no less than six leagues in its longest diameter, from north to south. Its latitude is $14^{\circ} 28'$ S. and its longitude $144^{\circ} 56'$ W. From space to space it was covered with coco-nut trees in great numbers, which had a pleasing airy look. Various trees and shrubberies sometimes concealed the stems of these palms to a great part of their height, but their beautiful crown always towered above the rest. The intervals between these green spots were so low, that the sea washed over them into the lagoon within. The stillness of the water, confined by the ledge of rocks, and its milky hue where it was shallow, contrasted very agreeably with the ruffled surface of the berylline unfathomable ocean. We sailed close along the western side of the island in the afternoon, and observed the rocks to be tinged with a fine scarlet colour in many places, exactly as Mr. Byron had found them. Several canoes sailing in the lagoon, smokes rising up between the clumps of trees, and armed men of a dark hue running along shore, were objects which greatly increased the pleasure of the prospect. We likewise perceived women retiring to a remote part of the ledge, with bundles

dles on their backs ; an evident sign that they expected no good from our appearance on their coast. Indeed, having had the misfortune to lose some of their countrymen in opposing Mr. Byron's boats, and having been expelled from their habitation during a whole day by his people, who lived at discretion on their coco-nuts, it is not surprising that they secured their small possessions against the invasion of people who looked so like their enemies. Towards the S. W. end of the island we perceived the passage into the lagoon, which Mr. Byron mentions, and sent a boat to sound in its entrance, because at that time we were not yet acquainted with his ill success in the same attempt. Our people found a bottom of sharp corals, which made it impracticable for the ship to anchor. The natives, who were assembled in arms on the north point of the passage, behaved very quietly, and brought some coco-nuts, which were exchanged for nails. Upon this information, another boat was hoisted out, and both sent to the shore again, in order to trade with the natives, and to efface the sinister ideas which they seemed to have conceived of us at first. My father, Dr. Sparrman, and myself were of the party ; though I was extremely ill of a bilious complaint. We landed without any opposition, and immediately mixed among the natives, of whom there seemed to be about fifty or sixty. They were all a set of stout men, of a dark brown, and had some punctures on the breast, belly, and hands,

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hands, chiefly in imitation of fishes, which furnish a great part of their food. Their features were not disagreeable, but more mild than those of the natives of all the high islands about them. They went perfectly naked, having only a very small piece of cloth about their loins. Their women did not come near us; but those whom we saw at a distance had the same colour as the men, and their piece of cloth was enlarged to the size of a short apron. The hair and beards were generally black and curling, but sometimes cut; however I took notice of a single man, whose hair was quite yellowish at the points. As soon as we landed they embraced us, touching our noses, after the custom of New Zealand, and began to bring coconuts and dogs for sale to the boats. Mahine, who was with us, purchased several dogs for small nails, and some for ripe bananas, which he had brought from the Marquesas. This fruit was much valued by the people of the low island, who immediately knew it; it should seem therefore that they have some acquaintance with the high islands, since bananas never grow upon their barren coral-ledges. The dogs were not unlike those at the Society Islands, but had fine long hair of a white colour. Mahine therefore was eager to purchase them, because that very sort of hair is made use of in his country to adorn the breast-plates of the warriors. We attempted to go directly into the grove, under which the habitations were situated; but the natives

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opposing it, we advanced along the point, picking various plants, and particularly a scurvy-grass, which was common, and seemed to be very wholesome. The natives shewed us that they bruised this plant, mixed it with shell-fish, and threw it into the sea, wherever they perceive a shoal of fishes. This food intoxicates them for some time, and thus they are caught on the surface, without any other trouble than that of taking them up. The name which they give to this useful plant is *e-Now*. We likewise met with plenty of purslane, resembling the common sort, which the natives call *e-Tooree*. This plant likewise grows at the Society Islands, and is there dressed under-ground, and eaten by the people. There were several sorts of trees on this island which grow in the Society Isles, and likewise some plants which we had not seen before. The soil was extremely scanty; the foundation consisted of coral, very little elevated above the surface of the water. On this we found a coarse white sand, mixed with fragments of coral and shells, and a very thin covering of mould. We advanced insensibly round the point, so as to come behind the habitations, and discovered another point jutting out into the lagoon, and forming a kind of bay, of which the shore was perfectly covered with shrubberies and groves. Between the two points the water was very shallow; and we perceived a great body of the natives crossing over from the farthest point, and dragging their spears after them.

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We immediately retired into the thicket, and passed by the huts, of which all the inhabitants were on the beach. These huts were very small and low, covered with a kind of matting of coco-nut branches. We only saw some dogs in them. Their boat-houses were exactly of the same materials, only a little larger. The canoes in them were very short, but stout, and pointed at both ends, and had a sharp keel. As soon as we came on the beach, we mixed among the natives, who were rather surprised to see us come out of their village. We acquainted the lieutenant who commanded our boats with the hostile appearances we had seen, upon which our people were upon their guard, and prepared to reembark. In the mean time Mahine assisted us in conversing with the natives, who told us that they had a chief or *areekee*, and that they called their island TEOUKEA. Their language, upon the whole, approached very much to the Tahitian dialect, except that their pronunciation was more coarse and guttural. The reinforcement now began to appear in the bushes, armed with long clubs, or round short staves, and spears, some fourteen feet, some nine feet long, pointed with the jagged tail of the sting-ray. We therefore stepped into our boats, but the natives crowded about them, and seemed in doubt whether they should detain us or not; however, as our retreat had been too early for their scheme, they appeared contented with our departure, and assisted us in pushing off

off the boats. Some threw small stones into the water near us, and all seemed to glory in having, as it were, frightened us off. They all talked a great deal, and very loud, after we were gone, and at last seated themselves along the beach, in the shade of the trees. We were no sooner on board, and had related our adventures, than the captain ordered four or five cannon-shot to be fired over their heads, and into the sea before them, to shew what he could do. These balls, and especially the last, terrified them so much, that they all ran away from this point with the greatest precipitation. The number of coco-nuts which we obtained among them did not amount to more than thirty, and the dogs were about five. Mr. Byron found wells on this island, which, though they afforded but a small quantity of fresh water, may be sufficient to supply the few inhabitants with this necessary element. That navigator likewise met with burying-places of stone, in the grove, which have a very great affinity with the Tahitian marais. The offerings of animal and vegetable food, hung on the branches of trees around these cemeteries, strengthen that similarity. There is reason to believe, from this circumstance, as well as from the form, manners, and language of the people, that they are very nearly allied to the happier inhabitants of the mountainous isles in the neighbourhood. The great lagoons within their circular islands are probably plentiful reservoirs of

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fish, from whence they are supplied with constant food. The sandy barren part of their ledges is a fit place upon which turtles may deposit their eggs ; and it appears from the fragments found by the Dolphin's people, that they know how to catch these large creatures, whose nutritive flesh and shell must be a delicious treat to them. The few plants which thrive about them are very useful, and furnish them with the means of facilitating the capture of fish ; some trees are so large that their trunks may be used for canoes, and their branches for weapons and tools. The coco-palm, which is the principal support of many nations on the globe, is likewise of infinite service to them, and almost every part of it is useful. The nuts which it bears, whilst they are green, contain from a pint to a quart of limpid liquor, which has a very pleasant sweetness, joined to a peculiar agreeable flavour ; its coolness and integrant particles, doubtless, make it a most delicious draught, powerful beyond comparison in quenching thirst in a hot climate. When the nut grows older, the kernel forms, which is at first like a rich cream, and afterwards grows firm and very oily, like an almond, being extremely nutritious. The oil is frequently expressed, and employed to anoint the hair and the whole body, at certain times. The hard shell provides the natives with cups ; and the fibrous coating round it affords all kinds of cordage, which are strong, elastic, and not much impaired by constant use.

Several

Several articles of Indian household furniture, and several sorts of ornaments are made with it. The long feathered leaves or branches, which spread from the top of the stem, are fit coverings for their houses; and when plaited, make good baskets for provisions. The inner bark yields a kind of cloth, sufficient for covering the body in a hot climate; and the stem itself, when grown too old to bear, is at least fit to be used in the construction of a hut, or may make the mast of a canoe. But besides fish and vegetable food, they have also dogs, which live upon fish, and are reckoned excellent meat by the natives of the Society Islands, to whom they are known. Thus Providence, in its wise dispensations, made even these insignificant narrow ledges rich enough in the productions of nature, to supply a whole race of men with the necessities of life. And here we cannot but express our admiration, that the minutest agents are subservient to the purposes of the Almighty Creator. The coral is known to be the fabrick of a little worm, which enlarges its house, in proportion as its own bulk encreases. This little creature, which has scarce sensation enough to distinguish it from a plant, builds up a rocky structure from the bottom of a sea too deep to be measured by human art, till it reaches the surface, and offers a firm basis for the residence of man! The number of these low islands is very great, and we are far from being acquainted with them all. In the whole extent of the Pacific Ocean, between
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the tropics, they are to be met with ; however, they are remarkably frequent for the space of ten or fifteen degrees to the eastward of the Society Islands. Quiros, Schouten, Rogge-
wein, Byron, Wallis, Carteret, Bougainville, and Cook have each met with new islands in their different courses ; and what is most remarkable, they have found them inhabited at the distance of two hundred and forty leagues to the east of Taheitee. Nothing is more probable than that on every new track other islands of this kind will still be met with, and particularly between the 16th and 17th degree of S. latitude, no navigator having hitherto run down on that parallel towards the Society Islands. It remains a subject worthy the investigation of philosophers, to consider from what probable principles these islands are so extremely numerous, and form so great an archipelago to windward of the Society Islands, whilst they are only scattered at considerable distances beyond that group of mountainous islands ? It is true, there is another archipelago of coral ledges far to the westward ; I mean the Friendly Islands ; but these are of a different nature, and appear to be of a much older date ; they occupy more space, and have a greater quantity of soil, on which all the vegetable productions of the higher lands may be raised.

Monday 18.

After leaving Teoukea we stood off and on during night, and then continued our course beyond the adjacent island, which is comprehended under Mr. Byron's appellation of
King

King George's Islands. It resembled Teoukea perfectly, and only seemed to be larger. Its length from N. to S. appeared to be near eight leagues, and the breadth of its lagoon five or six miles. It had numerous clumps of bushes and trees, and was adorned with a great number of coco-nut palms.

The next morning, at eight o'clock, we descried another island of the same nature, but which we suppose had not been seen before. Towards noon another appeared to the westward, which we coasted all the afternoon. It was about eight leagues long, and full of people, who ran along the shore with very long spears in their hands. The lagoon within was very spacious, and several canoes sailed about upon it. It appears to me, that the most elevated and richest spots on the coral-ledges, are generally to leeward, sheltered from the violence of the surf. In this sea, however, there are seldom such violent storms, as might make these isles uncomfortable places of abode; and when the weather is fair, it must be very pleasant sailing on the smooth water in the lagoon, whilst the ocean without is disagreeably agitated. A third new island was seen in the evening, which we left the next morning, after we had lain to all night. This group captain Cook called Palliser's Islands; they are situated in about $15^{\circ} 36'$ S. latitude, and $146^{\circ} 30'$ W. longitude. The northernmost of these islands seem to be the Pernicious Islands on which Roggewein lost the African galley.

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galley. As Mr. Byron found a boat's rudder on Teoukea, which is at a short distance from these isles, that circumstance serves to confirm my supposition *.

We now steered to the S. W. being clear of the low-lands, and continued standing on, the following night, towards the island of Taheitee. The general satisfaction which this course gave to all on board can scarcely be described. Assured of the good disposition of the inhabitants, we could look upon this island as our second home. Our sick had some hopes of recovery, by having an opportunity of walking or resting in its cool shades, and by using the light salubrious diet of the islanders. The rest expected to acquire new strength and vigour, to enable them to encounter those perils and hardships which were yet in reserve for them. The captain was sure of meeting with that abundance of refreshments, which would enable him to bring the voyage to a happy conclusion; the astronomer longed to fix an observatory on shore, in order to determine the rate of going of the time-keeper, which had not been settled since our departure from New Zealand; and we were not less desirous of returning to this island, in order to complete, in some measure, a botanical collection, which our short stay in the winter season had left but too imperfect.

* See Hawkesworth, vol. I, p. 102.

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Our friend Mahine was perhaps more anxious than us all to see Taheitee, which he had never visited, though many of his relations and friends resided there. As the natives of the Society Islands allow it the first rank in affluence and power; and as we had frequently confirmed this testimony to him, his curiosity was so much the greater. But he had other motives which prompted him to wish himself there.

He had collected a considerable number of curiosities, which he was well convinced would give him weight among his countrymen; and he had acquired such a variety of new ideas, and seen so many distant and unknown countries, that he was persuaded he would attract and demand their attention. The prospect of being courted by every body, and the idea of distinguishing himself by his intimacy with us, by his acquaintance with our manners, and above all, by making use of our fire-arms for his diversion, gave him infinite pleasure. It is not to be doubted, that it was enhanced by the hope of being serviceable to all his shipmates, whom he loved with the sincerest affection, and by whom he was generally esteemed in return.

We discovered land about ten o'clock the next morning, Thursday 21. which in a few hours afterwards we knew to be part of Taheitee. We stood towards it all the day, but could not reach it before it became dark, and were therefore obliged to stay out another night. Every person on board gazed continually at this queen of tropical islands; and though I

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was extremely ill of my bilious disorder, I crawled on deck, and fixed my eyes with great eagerness upon it, as upon a place where I hoped my pains would cease. Early in the morning I awoke, and was as much surpris'd at the beauty of the prospect, as if I had never beheld it before. It was indeed infinitely more beautiful at present, than it had been eight months ago, owing to the difference of the season. The forests on the mountains were all clad in fresh foliage, and gloried in many variegated hues; and even the lower hills were not entirely destitute of pleasing spots, and covered with herbage. But the plains, above all, shone forth in the greatest luxuriance of colours, the brightest tints of verdure being profusely lavished upon their fertile groves; in short, the whole called to our mind the description of Calypso's enchanted island.

With such a landscape before us, it cannot be doubted, but that our eyes were continually fixed upon it. We had the farther pleasure to distinguish every well-known spot as we sailed along. At last the beautiful scenery of Mata-vai opened to our view in all its grandeur; and we directed our course into the bay, from whence we had sailed near eight months before.

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C H A P. VI.

An account of our second visit to the island of o-Tabeitee.

Ille terrarum mihi præter omnes

Angulus ridet—————

HOR.

WE were no sooner discovered from the shore, than Friday 22.
several canoes put off to welcome us with presents of fruit. Among the first who came on board, were two young men of some note, whom we immediately invited into the cabin, where they were made acquainted with Mahine. The politeness of the nation required that they should make him a present of clothing; accordingly they took off their own upper garments, which were of the best sort, and put them on him. He gratified them in return with a sight of his rarities, and made them a present of a few red feathers, which they valued very highly.

At eight o'clock in the morning we dropped an anchor in Matavaï bay, and were surrounded presently after by a whole fleet of canoes, in which our old friends brought us fish, bread-fruit, apples, coco-nuts, and bananas, all which they sold at low rates with the greatest readiness. Their fish were mullets and bonitos, which they brought perfectly alive in a kind of trough, fixed between the two

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hulls of a double canoe, and provided with wicker-work at both ends, where the water freely entered.

Some tents were now established once more on Point Venus, for the purpose of making astronomical observations, as well as for the convenience of trading, wooding, and watering. The captain, Dr. Sparrman, and my father went on shore, whilst I remained on board so ill that I could scarcely crawl about. I amused myself, however, in trading out of the cabin windows, and by that means collected a number of curious fish, whilst they brought home nothing new from their excursion. They had found the appearance of the whole country much improved; the verdure luxuriant, many trees still loaded with fruit; the brooks full of water, and a great number of new houses built. Mahine, who went on shore with them, did not return at night, having found several of his relations, and particularly a sister, named Teiöä, one of the prettiest women on the whole island, who was married to a tall, well-made man, called Noona, of the better class of people, and native of Raietea. His house was very large, and near our tents, being only about a hundred yards beyond the river. Mahine had laid aside his European cloaths before he went on shore, and put on the elegant new dresses his friends had brought him, with a degree of pleasure and eagerness, in which a natural predilection for the manners of his country was very conspicuous. There are many instances

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stances among different nations in an imperfect state of civilization, and likewise among savages, that the force of habit produces this effect. It is no wonder that a native of the Society Isles should prefer the happy life, the wholesome diet, and the simple dress of his countrymen, to the constant agitation, the nauseous food, and the coarse awkward garments of a set of seafaring Europeans; when we have seen Eskimaux return with the utmost ardour to their own desolate country, to greasy seal-skins, and rancid train-oil, after having been entertained with substantial viands, the pomp of dress, and the magnificence of London. Machine had indeed found the happiness and pleasure which he had expected. He was courted and looked upon as a prodigy by all the Taheitians who saw him; he was feasted with their choicest meats, he received several changes of dress, and revelled among the nymphs of the land. Sensible to pleasure, like all the children of nature, but debarred the sight of his pretty countrywomen for a long while, and perhaps tinctured with a double relish for sensuality by his acquaintance with sailors, the facility of gratifying every wish had endeared the country to him, and captivated him more than any thing else. Besides these incitements, the ship, in a warm climate, was but an uncomfortable abode at night. There he would have been pent up in a narrow, close, ill-scented cabin; whereas on the shore he breathed a pure air, deliciously perfumed by
the

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the exhalations of fragrant flowers, and was continually fanned by a cooling gentle land-wind, exactly like young Zephyr, who has such great obligation to the poets. Whatever the exalted degree of pleasure might be, which fell to the share of the happy Mahine, there were those on board who thought their situation worthy of envy. Immediately on the first evening several women came on board, and the excesses of the night were incredible. I have already observed before, that the women who made a practice of this intercourse were all of the common or lowest class, and I shall only add at present, that they were the same who had been so liberal of their favours during our first stay at this island. It is therefore obvious, that the prostitutes are only a particular set among the rest, and that the custom is far from being so general as hath been hitherto supposed, on the faith of other accounts. It would be singularly absurd, if o-Maï were to report to his countrymen, that chastity is not known in England, because he did not find the ladies cruel in the Strand.

Saturday 23.

The next day we had delightful weather, and a great number of natives came on board. I ventured to go on shore to the tents in the forenoon, but after walking about thirty yards, I was obliged to turn back and sit down, in order to prevent my fainting away. The fine apples, which the natives brought for sale, looked so extremely tempting, that I ventured to transgress the positive order of
the

the physician, and having regaled myself with one of them, returned on board immediately. Not less than fifty large bonitos had been purchased by our people during my short stay on shore, for spikenails and knives ; and besides these we had obtained such a quantity of fruit, that we were enabled to serve it out in plentiful portions. At my return I found a native in irons, who had already taken an opportunity to pilfer some nails in the ship. Several of the better sort of people interceded very strongly, and presented a number of bonitos, in order to procure his release. These were accepted, and he was set at liberty, with a warning not to practise the same tricks again.

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The women who had passed the first night on board returned in the evening, and several others came with them ; so that every sailor had his partner. The night was very fair and moon-light, and being dedicated to St. George, the tutelar saint of England, the pleasures of Venus were joined to the usual orgies of the festival.

Dr. Sparrman and my father had been on shore the whole day, and returned after sunset. They had walked across One-tree-hill into the province of Parre. There they met with Tootahah's mother, and Happai, the father of the king, to whom they made some small presents. They were likewise accosted by a native there, who did them several good offices, and particularly swam a considerable way in a pond where they had shot some wild-ducks.

They

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They continued marching to the westward at least ten miles from Point Venus to their new friend's dwelling. He prepared them a very good meal of fruit, and baked them a rich and most delicious kind of pudding, which is made of the kernel of coco-nuts and eddy-roots, scraped very small, and mixed together. The trees about his hut furnished him with abundance of fresh coco-nuts, of which he offered a great number to his guests. After dinner he presented them with a perfumed dress of the best sort, and attended them back again with a quantity of fruit, which remained untouched. He slept that night on board, and went away the next morning highly delighted with several knives, nails, and beads. As they returned they came near the king's house, and there saw the two goats which captain Furneaux had presented to him. The she-goat had brought two kids soon after our departure, which were almost full-grown. The whole breed was in excellent order, extremely sleek and well fed, and their hair as soft as silk. If the natives continue to take the same care of them, they will shortly be able to turn them wild on the mountains, where they would propagate prodigiously, and afford them a new and most valuable article of food.

Sunday 24.

The next morning I found myself greatly relieved by the apple which I had eaten; and captain Cook, who still had some remains of his bilious complaint, had felt the same effect from the use of this excellent fruit. We continued there-

therefore to eat it ; and recommended it to all the bilious patients. Our recovery in consequence was much quicker than we had any reason to expect, and in a few days no other symptom than a slight weakness remained.

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A number of chiefs came on board this day with large hogs, and canoes loaded with fruit, all which were purchased for iron ware. Towards noon, the king, O-Too, with his sister Towraï, and his brother came on board, though it had rained just before. They brought a present of several hogs to captain Cook, and the king seemed to have entirely laid aside that distrust, which had so strongly characterised him before. They received some hatchets ; but the principal thing for which they enquired were red parrot's feathers, which they called *oorä*. The accounts of Mahine, and the little presents of this precious plumage which he had made to his friends, had given rise to this enquiry. We immediately searched all our collections from the Friendly Islands, and found a considerable quantity, which we did not think proper to show all at once. O-Too and his sister were gratified with a sight of a part of our riches, at which they seemed perfectly amazed and delighted. I have already mentioned, when I spoke of purchasing these feathers, that some were glued on a piece of cloth close to each other, and some were dispersed on stars of coconut core wrought in fret-work. Our royal guests received a small portion of the first sort, about the size of two fing-

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ers, besides a star or two, with which, for the present, they went away contented, as it seemed, beyond their warmest hopes. These red feathers, with which they ornament the dress of their warriors, and which perhaps are made use of on some other solemn occasions, are valued at an incredible rate in this island, and clearly prove the existence of a great degree of luxury among the natives.

Monday 25.

On the next day we had a number of visits from different chiefs, amongst whom was our friend Potatow, his wife Whainee-ow, and his former wife Polatehera, whom the fame of our great riches of red feathers had reached. They brought with them numbers of hogs, many of which were exchanged with the utmost avidity for small pieces of cloth covered with red feathers. The difference between the present opulence of these islanders, and their situation eight months before, was very astonishing to us. It was with the utmost difficulty that we had been able to purchase a few hogs during our first stay, having been obliged to look upon it as a great favour, when the king or chief parted with one of these animals. At present our decks were so crowded with them, that we were obliged to make a hog-stye on shore. We concluded, therefore, that they were now entirely recovered from the blow which they had received in their late unfortunate war with the lesser peninsula, and of which they still felt the bad effects at our visit in August 1773. In the morning we had continual hard
showers,

showers, and such violent thunder and lightning, that, for the sake of greater safety, a copper chain was fixed to the maintop-gallant-mast-head. Just as a sailer was clearing it of the shrouds, and had thrown the end over board, a terrible flash of lightning appeared exactly over the ship, and the flame was seen to run down along the whole length of the chain. A tremendous thunder-clap instantaneously followed, which shook the whole ship, to the no small surprise of both the Europeans and Tahitians on board. However we happily suffered not the least damage from this explosion. This circumstance confirms the great use of the electrical chain, which had been so clearly proved at Batavia, while captain Cook lay there in the *Endeavour* *.

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The rain did not abate till the evening, when the showers became intermittent, and entirely ceased the next morning. The first intelligence which we received from our tents was, that several waistcoats and blankets belonging to the captain had been stolen by the natives, from the man who was washing them. The captain embarked therefore about ten o'clock, in order to visit O-Too, by whose help he hoped to recover his bed-cloaths. I was now so well recovered, that I ventured to accompany him in the boat, with my father, Dr. Sparrman, and some others. When we approached O-

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* See Hawksworth's Compilation, vol. III. p. 712.

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Parre, we beheld one of the most magnificent sights which it is possible to be entertained with in the South Sea. This was a very numerous fleet of great war-canoes, lying arranged along the shore, completely fitted out, and manned with rowers and warriors, dressed in their robes, targets, and towering helmets. The shores were lined with crouds of people, and a kind of solemn silence prevailed among them. We landed, and were met by Tee, one of the king's uncles, who was going to lead captain Cook into the country, when the commander in chief of the fleet stepped on shore and met them. At sight of him the common people exclaimed, "Towhah is coming," and made room for him with a degree of veneration which surprised us. The chief advanced to captain Cook, and taking him by the hand, called him his friend, and desired him to step into his canoe. It appeared to us at that time that Tee was uneasy, and did not approve of captain Cook's going with Towhah; therefore, when we were just abreast of his canoe, which was one of the largest, the captain stopped short, and refused to go on board. Towhah left him very coolly, and, to all appearance hurt at the refusal, stepped into one of the canoes. We then walked down along the whole range of vessels, whose prows were turned to the shore. All our former ideas of the power and affluence of this island were so greatly surpassed by this magnificent scene, that we were perfectly left in admiration. We counted no less than one hundred

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hundred and fifty-nine great double war-canoes, from fifty to ninety feet long betwixt stem and stern. When we consider the imperfect tools which these people are possessed of, we can never sufficiently admire the patience and labour with which they have cut down huge trees, dubbed the plank, made them perfectly smooth, and at last brought these unweildy vessels to the great degree of perfection in which we saw them. A hatchet, or, properly, an adze of stone, a chissel, and a piece of coral, are their tools, to which they only add the rough skin of a ray, when they smooth or polish their timber. All these canoes are double, that is, two joined together, side by side, by fifteen or eighteen strong transverse timbers, which sometimes project a great way beyond both the hulls, being from twelve to four and twenty feet in length, and about three feet and a half asunder. When they are so long, they make a platform, fifty, sixty, or seventy feet in length. On the outside of each canoe there are, in that case, two or three longitudinal spars, and between the two connected canoes one spar is fixed to the transverse beams. The heads and sterns were raised several feet out of the water, particularly the latter, which stood up like long beaks, sometimes near twenty feet high, and were cut into various shapes. A white piece of cloth was commonly fixed between the two beaks of each double canoe, in lieu of an ensign, and the wind swelled it out like a sail. Some had likewise a striped cloth, with various red chequers, which,

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as we afterwards learned, were the marks of the divisions under the different commanders. At the head there was a tall pillar of carved-work, on the top of which stood the figure of a man, or rather of an urchin, whose face was commonly shaded by a board like a bonnet, and sometimes painted red with ochre. These pillars were generally covered with bunches of black feathers, and long streamers of feathers hung from them. The gunwale of the canoes was commonly two or three feet above the water, but not always formed in the same manner; for some had flat bottoms, and sides nearly perpendicular upon them, whilst others were bow-sided, with a sharp keel, like the section drawn in captain Cook's first voyage *. A fighting stage was erected towards the head of the boat, and rested on pillars from four to six feet high, generally ornamented with carving. This stage extended beyond the whole breadth of the double canoe, and was from twenty to twenty-four feet long, and about eight or ten feet wide. The rowers sat in the canoe, or under the fighting stage on the platform, which consisted of the transverse beams and longitudinal spars; so that wherever these crossed, there was room for one man in the compartment. Those which had eighteen beams, and three longitudinal spars on each side, besides one longitudinal spar between the two canoes,

* See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p. 225.

had

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had consequently no less than a hundred and forty-four rowers, besides eight men to steer them, four of whom were placed in each stern. This however was not the case with the greatest part of the canoes here assembled, which had no projecting platforms, and where the rowers or paddlers sat in the hulls of the canoe. The warriors were stationed on the fighting stage, to the number of fifteen or twenty. Their dress was the most singular, and at the same time the most shewy sight in the whole fleet. They had three large and ample pieces of cloth, with a hole in the middle, put on one above another. The undermost and largest was white, the next red, and the uppermost and shortest brown. Their targets or breast-plates were made of wicker-work, covered with feathers and shark's teeth, and hardly any of the warriors were without them. On the contrary, those who wore helmets were few in number. These helmets were of an enormous size, being near five feet high. They consisted of a long cylindrical basket of wicker-work, of which the foremost half was hid by a semicylinder of a closer texture, which became broader towards the top, and there separated from the basket, so as to come forwards in a curve. This frontlet, of the length of four feet, was closely covered with the glossy bluish green feathers of a sort of pigeon, and with an elegant border of white plumes. A prodigious number of the long tail feathers of tropic birds diverged from its edges, in a radi-

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ant line, resembling that glory of light with which our painters commonly ornament the heads of angels and saints. A large turban of cloth was required for this huge unweildy machine to rest upon; but as it is intended merely to strike the beholder with admiration, and can be of no service, the warriors soon took it off, and placed it on the platform near them. The principal commanders were moreover distinguished by long round tails, made of green and yellow feathers, which hung down on the back, and put us in mind of the Turkish bashas. Towhah, their admiral, were five of them, to the ends of which several strings of coco-nut core were added, with a few red feathers affixed to them. He had no helmet on, but wore a fine turban, which sat very gracefully upon his head. He was a man seemingly near sixty years of age, but extremely vigorous, tall, and of a very engaging noble countenance.

Having reached our boat again, we rowed along under the sterns of the canoes to the end of the file. In each canoe we took notice of vast bundles of spears, and long clubs or battle-axes, placed upright against the platform; and every warrior had either a club or spear in his hand. Vast heaps of large stones were likewise piled up in every canoe, being their only missile weapons. Besides the vessels of war, which we found to consist of one hundred and fifty-nine double canoes, we counted seventy smaller canoes with-
out

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out the ranks, most of which were double likewise, with a roof on the stern, intended for the reception of the chiefs at night, and as victuallers to the fleet. A few of them were seen, on which banana-leaves were very conspicuous; and these the natives told us were to receive the killed, and they called them *e-vaa no t'Eatua*, "the canoes of the Divinity." The immense number of people thus assembled together was, in fact, more surprising than the splendor of the whole shew. Upon a very moderate calculation, there could not be less than fifteen hundred warriors, and four thousand paddlers, besides those who were in the provision-boats, and the prodigious crouds on the shore.

We were at a loss to know the meaning of this armament, nor could we obtain any information till we came back to our ship. The king having left O-Parre, and gone into the district of Matavai, we returned on board about noon. There we found many chiefs, and among the rest Potatow, who dined with us, and informed us, that the whole armament was intended against the island of Eimeo, of which the chief, a vassal of O-Too, had revolted. We learnt at the same time, to our greater surprize, that the fleet which we had seen was only the naval force of the single district of Atahooroo, and that all the other districts could furnish their quota of vessels in proportion to their size. This account opened our eyes, in regard to the population of the island, and convinced us in a few moments, that it was

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much more considerable than we had hitherto supposed. The result of a most moderate computation gave us one hundred and twenty thousand persons in the two peninsulas of Taheitee*.

The number of districts in both peninsulas amounts to forty-three; we assumed at a medium, that each could equip only twenty war-canoes, and we supposed each of these to be manned only with thirty-five men. The sum of men employed in the fleet, exclusive of the attending boats, would then be no less than thirty thousand; and these we assume as the fourth part of the whole nation. What makes this computation still more moderate is, that we suppose these thirty thousand to be the whole number of persons capable of bearing arms, or fit for service; and that the common proportion of these men, to the rest of the people, is much smaller than one fourth, in all the countries of Europe.

Captain Cook returned to O-Parre with us in the afternoon. The whole fleet had already left that district, and the canoes were dispersed; but we found O-Too, and were extremely well received. He conducted us to several of his houses, through a country which perfectly resembled a garden; shady fruit-trees, shrubberies with odoriferous flow-

* This calculation was afterwards confirmed to be very low, when we saw the fleet of the smallest district, which amounted to forty-four war-canoes, besides twenty or five and twenty of a smaller size.

ers, and rivulets enlarged into limpid sheets of water, continually varied before the eye. The houses were all kept in the best order; some were surrounded with walls of reeds, but others were open like the usual dwellings of the people. We passed several hours in his company, with some of his relations, and principal attendants, who took every method to express their friendship towards us. The conversation, though not yet very coherent, was however extremely lively; and the women in particular laughed and chatted with the greatest good humour. We often found them diverting each other by playing upon words; and sometimes we were highly entertained with a real witty stroke, or a humorous fallacy. It was near sunset when we departed, after sharing some part of the happiness which seems to be so natural to this favoured island. The calm contented state of the natives; their simple way of life; the beauty of the landscape; the excellence of the climate; the abundance, salubrity, and delicious taste of its fruits, were altogether enchanting, and filled the heart with rapture. Surely the satisfaction which we naturally feel in the happiness of others, is one of the most delightful sensations with which the human soul is blessed.

The next morning the captain and my father paid another visit to O-Too at Parre, and found there the admiral of the fleet, Towhah, to whom they were introduced by O-Too himself. They all came on board before noon, and

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visited every part of the ship above and below decks, particularly to gratify the curiosity of Towhah, who had never seen a ship before in his life. He paid more attention to the multitude of new objects on board, to the strength and size of the timbers, masts, and ropes, than any Taheitian we had ever seen, and found our tackle so exceedingly superior to that which is usual in his country, that he expressed a wish to possess several articles, especially cables and anchors. He was now dressed like the rest of the people in this happy island, and naked to the waist, being in the king's presence. His appearance was so much altered from what it had been the day before, that I had some difficulty to recollect him. He appeared now very lusty, and had a most portly paunch, which it was impossible to discern under the long spacious robes of war. His hair was of a fine silvery grey, and his countenance was the most engaging and truly good-natured which I ever beheld in these islands. The king and he staid and dined with us this day, eating with a very hearty appetite of all that was set before them. O-Too had entirely lost his uneasy, distrustful air; he seemed to be at home, and took a great pleasure in instructing Towhah in our manners. He taught him to make use of the knife and fork, to eat salt to his meat, and to drink wine. He himself did not refuse to drink a glass of this generous liquor, and joked with Towhah upon its red colour, telling him

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him it was blood. The honest admiral having tasted our grog, which is a mixture of brandy and water, desired to taste of the brandy by itself, which he called *e vai no Bretannee*, British water, and drank off a small glass full, without making a wry face. Both he and his Taheitian majesty were extremely chearful and happy, and appeared to like our way of living, and our cookery of their own excellent provisions. They told us that their fleet was intended to reduce the rebellious people of Eimeo (or York Island) and their chief, Te-aree-Tabonooce, to obedience, adding, that they would make the attack in a district of that island, called Morea. Captain Cook proposed, in jest, to accompany them with his ship, and to fire upon the enemies of O-Too, which at first they smiled at, and approved of; but presently after they talked among themselves, and then changing their tone, said they could not make use of his assistance, being resolved to go out against Eimeo the fifth day after our departure. Whatever might be the real motive of this resolution, it certainly was the most politic in their situation. We were too powerful an ally, not to be formidable even to those for whom we should fight; and waving that consideration, it was making the people of Eimeo too important, to bring our invincible four-pounders against them; for to these only would the victory be ascribed, even by the vanquished; and as soon as we should have left the island, the conquerors would lose much of that importance.

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portance which they had in the eyes of their enemies before the battle. Such a degree of contempt might prove fatal to them in the end.

Thursday 28.

My father, with Dr. Sparrman, a sailor and a marine, went on shore the next day in the afternoon, with an intent to go up to the summit of the mountains. We had a great number of canoes about us all this time, and in them there were always some chiefs of different districts, who brought on board their hogs, and their most valuable possessions, in order to exchange them for red feathers, on which they placed an extravagant value. These feathers produced a great revolution in the connections which the women had formed with our sailors; and happy was he who had laid in a sufficient stock of this useful and precious merchandize at the Friendly Islands; the women crowded about him, and he had the choice of the fairest. That our red feathers had infused a general and irresistible longing into the minds of all the people, will appear from the following circumstance. I have observed, in the former part of this narrative, that the women of the families of chiefs never admitted the visits of Europeans; and also that whatever liberties some unmarried girls might with impunity allow themselves, the married state had always been held sacred and unspotted at Taheitee. But such was the force of the temptation, that a chief actually offered his wife to captain Cook, and the lady, by her husband's order,

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order, attempted to captivate him, by an artful display of all her charms, seemingly in such a careless manner, as many a woman would be at a loss to imitate. I was sorry, for the sake of human nature, that this proposal came from a man, whose general character was in other respects very fair. It was Potatow who could descend to this meanness, from the high spirit of grandeur which he had formerly shewn. We expressed great indignation at his conduct, and rebuked him for his frailty. It was very fortunate for us, that a considerable quantity of this red plumage had been disposed of by our sailors at the Marquesas, in exchange for artificial curiosities, before they knew the high value which it bore at Taheitee. Had all these riches been brought to this island, the price of provisions would in all likelihood have been raised to such an unreasonable height, that we might have fared even worse than during our first visit. A single little feather was a valuable present, much superior to a bead or a nail, and a very small bit of cloth, closely covered with them, produced such extatic joy in him who received it, as we might suppose in an European, who should unexpectedly find the diamond of the Great Mogol. Potatow brought on board his monstrous helmet of war of five feet high, and sold it for red feathers; some others followed his example, and targets without number were bought by almost every sailor. But much more surprising than this, was their offering for sale
those

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those curious and singular mourning dresses, which are mentioned in captain Cook's first voyage *, and which they would not part with on any account at that time. These dresses being made of the rarest productions of their island, and of the surrounding sea, and being wrought with the greatest care and ingenuity, must of course bear a very considerable value among them. A number of complete mourning dresses, not less than ten, were purchased by different persons on board, and brought to England. Captain Cook has given one to the British Museum, and my father has had the honour of presenting another to the University of Oxford, now deposited in the Ashmolean Museum. This remarkable dress consists of a thin flat board, of a semicircular form, about two feet long, and four or five inches broad. Upon these are fixed four or five chosen mother of pearl shells, by means of strings of coco-nut core passed through several holes which are pierced in the wood, and in the edges of the shells. A larger shell of the same kind, fringed with bluish-green pigeon's feathers, is fixed to each end of this board, of which the concave margin is placed upwards. Upon the middle of the concave margin there are two shells, which together form nearly a circle about six inches in diameter; and on the top of these a very large piece of mother of pearl, com-

* See Hawksworth's Compilation, vol. II. p. 143. 146. 236. also the plate, No. 5.

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monly with its purple coating on, is placed upright. It is of an oblong shape, enlarging rather towards the upper end, and its height is nine or ten inches. A great number of long white feathers, from the tropic bird's tail, form a radiant circle round it. From the convex margin of the board hangs down a tiffue of small pieces of mother of pearl, in size and shape something like an apron. This consists of ten or fifteen rows of pieces about an inch and a half long, and one-tenth of an inch in breadth, each piece being perforated at both ends, in order to be fixed to the other rows. These rows are made perfectly streight and parallel to each other; therefore the uppermost are divided, and extremely short, on account of the semicircular shape of the board. The lower rows are likewise commonly narrower, and from the ends of each row a string hangs down, ornamented with *opercula* of shells, and sometimes with European beads. A tassel or round tail of green and yellow feathers hangs down from the upper ends of the board on the side of the apron, which is the most showy part of the whole dress. A strong rope is fixed on each side of that pair of shells, which rests immediately upon the concave margin of the board, and this string is tied about the head of the person who wears the dress. The whole piece hangs down perpendicularly before him, the apron hides his breast and stomach, the board covers his neck and shoulders, and the first pair of shells comes before his face. In

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one of these shells there is a small hole cut out, through which the wearer must look in order to find his way. The uppermost shell, and the long feathers round it, extend at least two feet beyond the natural height of the man. The other parts of his dress are not less remarkable. He puts on a mat or a piece of cloth with a hole in the middle, like the usual dress of the country. Over this he places another of the same sort, but of which the fore part hangs down almost to the feet, and is beset with many rows of buttons made of pieces of coco-nut shell. A belt, consisting of a twisted rope of brown and white cloth, is tied over this dress round the waist; a large cloak of net-work, closely beset with great bluish feathers, covers the whole back; and a turban of brown and yellow cloth, bound with a great quantity of small twisted ropes of brown and white cloth, is placed on the head. An ample hood of alternate parallel stripes of brown, yellow, and white cloth descends from the turban to cover the neck and shoulders, in order that as little as possible of the human figure may appear. Commonly the nearest relation of the deceased wears this whimsical dress, and carries in one hand a pair of large pearl-shells, which are clapped or beaten together continually, and in the other a stick, armed with shark's teeth, with which he wounds any of the natives who chance to come near him *. What may have been the origin of this singu-

* See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p. 236.

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lar custom we cannot determine; but to me it seems to be calculated to inspire horror; and the fantastical dress in which it is performed, has so much of that strange and terrifying shape which our nurses attribute to ghosts and goblins, that I am almost tempted to believe some ridiculous superstition lurks under this funeral rite. The spirit of the deceased, exacting a tribute of grief and tears from its survivors, and therefore wounding them with the shark's teeth, would not be an idea too extravagant for men to have adopted. Whatever it might be, we never could obtain any intelligence from the natives on the subject; they gave us an account of the ceremony, and of the dress, telling us the names of every part; but it was impossible to make ourselves understood, as soon as we wanted to know why it was so? The most singular fact with which Mahine acquainted us, relative to the mourning rite, was, that at the death of a man, a woman performs the ceremony; but when a woman dies, a man must go the rounds with the scare-crowd dress. In England the curiosity has been so great, that a Tahitian mourning-dress, which a sailor brought over, has been sold for five and twenty guineas. But in this respect the Tahitians are no way inferior to civilized nations. In consequence of Mahine's relation of his adventures, the chiefs continually importuned us to give them curiosities from Tonga-Tabboo, Waiihoo, and Waitahoo*, instead of

* Amsterdam Island, Easter Island, and St. Christina.

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English goods, in exchange for their provisions and curiosities. The feathered head-dresses of the two last islands, and the baskets, clubs, and painted cloth of the former, pleased them excessively; nay, they were eager to possess the mats of Tonga-Tabboo, though in general they perfectly resembled their own manufacture. Our sailors therefore frequently took advantage of their disposition, and gave them the same mats under another name, which they had formerly purchased in their own island, or in the Society Islands. Thus there is a similarity in the general inclinations of human nature, and particularly in the desires of all nations who are not in a state of savage barbarism, but have the advantage of civilization. The resemblance will appear still more perfect, if we relate with what eagerness the Tahitians listened to the accounts of their youthful traveller. They always attended him in crowds, their oldest men esteemed him highly, and the principal people of the island, not excepting the royal family, courted his company. Besides the pleasure of hearing him, they had likewise that of obtaining a number of valuable presents from him, which cost them only a few kind expressions. His time was so agreeably taken up on shore, as he found new friends in every hut, that he seldom came on board, unless to fetch a new set of presents, or to shew the ship to his acquaintance, and to introduce them to captain Cook and his shipmates. His stories, however, were too wonderful sometimes to find
ready

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ready belief among his audience, who now and then applied to us for a confirmation of his account. The rain converted into stone, the solid white rocks and mountains which we melted into fresh water, and the perpetual day of the antarctic circle, were articles which even ourselves could not persuade them to credit. The account of canibals in New Zealand was more easily believed, though it filled them with horror. He brought on board a company of the natives during my father's absence on the hills, who were come on purpose to see the head of the New Zealand boy, which Mr. Pickersgill had preserved in spirits. He readily gratified them with the sight, and their report brought great numbers to see it. I was present when it was shewn, and it struck me to hear them give it a peculiar name in their language. They unanimously called it *te Tae-ai*, which appears to be equivalent to "man eater." The result of my enquiries among many of the chiefs and most intelligent people, on this extraordinary circumstance, was the following. They said they had a traditional report among them, that in an indefinite but very remote period of time, there were man-eaters upon their island, who made great havock among the inhabitants, and were a very strong robust people; but that this race had long since been entirely extinct. The same account was confirmed to me in the strongest terms, on my return to England, by o-Mai, with whom I happened to converse upon the subject. The influence of this fact
upon

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upon the ancient history of Taheitee is very striking ; but shall we conclude, that a set of canibals have by some accident made a descent upon the island, and committed depredations upon the indigenous people ? or is it not rather evident, that the original state of the whole nation is concealed in this tradition, and that all the Taheitians were anthropophagi, before they arrived at that state of civilization, which the excellence of the country and climate, and the profusion of vegetables and animal food, has introduced ? It is a fact no less surprising than certain, that the more we examine the history of almost every nation, the more we find this custom prevalent in the first periods of their existence. Traces of anthropophagy are still extant at Taheitee. Captain Cook saw fifteen recent jaw-bones hanging in one house *. Might they not be preserved as trophies taken from their enemies ?

Friday 29.

The next morning one of the natives, who had attempted to steal a water-cask from our tents, was apprehended and confined. O-Too and Towhah coming on board somewhat early, being made acquainted with his offence, accompanied captain Cook on shore to see him punished. He was tied to a pole, and, with their consent, received two dozen of very severe lashes. A great croud of natives, who were spectators of this act, were so much terrified, that they began to

* See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p. 161.

run off; but Towhah called them back, and, in a speech which lasted about four or five minutes, pointed out the equity of our conduct, and the necessity of punishing thefts. He represented, that though our power was infinitely superior to theirs, yet we neither stole any thing, nor used any violence, but honestly paid a proper price for every thing we received, and frequently gave presents where we expected no return. That we had shewn ourselves their best friends, and that to steal from friends was a shameful action, which highly deserved to be punished. The good sense and singleness of heart of this excellent old man, endeared him to us, and his harangue carried persuasion among his audience. In the afternoon Towhah came along side with his wife, an elderly woman, who seemed to have the same excellent character as her husband. They were in a large double canoe, with a roof built over the stern, and had eight rowers. The old couple invited Mr. Hodges and myself to come into the canoe, and we accompanied them to Parre. Towhah asked us a variety of questions during the time we were on the water, chiefly relating to the nature and constitution of the country from whence we came. As he had never seen any of our persons of high rank, he concluded that Mr. Banks could be no less than the king's brother, and that captain Cook was high admiral. The information which we gave him was received with the greatest marks of surprize and attention; but when we told him we had nei-
ther

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ther coco-nut nor bread-fruit trees, he seemed to think but meanly of our country, though we enumerated all its other advantages. We were no sooner landed, than he ordered a repast of fish and fruit to be served up, and insisted on our partaking of it. We had just dined before we left the ship, but unwilling to give offence, we sat down and ate of the provisions, which were excellent. Indeed we could not but compare this happy country to Mahomed's Paradise, where the appetite is never cloyed by being gratified. The meal was already served, and we were going to help ourselves, when Towhah desired us to stop. In a few moments one of his attendants brought a large cook-knife, and some bamboo-sticks, instead of forks. Towhah carved the victuals, and gave each of us a bamboo, saying he would eat in the English manner. Instead of eating his bread-fruit by handfuls, he now cut it small, and took a bit of it after every morsel of fish, to shew how exactly he remembered our custom since the time of his dining with us. The good lady feasted apart some time afterwards, according to the invariable custom of the country. We walked about and chatted with them both till near sunset, when they embarked in their canoe, and returned to the district called Atahooroo, part of which belonged to Towhah. They took leave of us very cordially, and promised to return to the ship again in a few days. We hired a double canoe for a nail, and returned on board before it was dark. I found Dr. Sparrman and
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my father just returned from the mountains. Noona, the same lively and intelligent boy whom I have already mentioned in the former part of this narrative *, had been their conductor. As they set out in the afternoon (on the 28th) they only reached a small hut on the second ridge, having crossed two deep vallies, and climbed two steep hills, rendered very slippery from a smart shower which had fallen. Here they found a man with his wife and three children. The man enlarged his cottage by means of branches of trees, and prepared them a supper; after which, having previously made a fire, they watched and slept by turns. The fire was seen on board our ship; and in return they heard the ringing of the ship's bell at midnight, though they were upwards of a league distant from it. The whole night was fair and cool; but their friendly host, whose name was Tahéa, had a violent cough. At day break they resumed their march towards the summits, and Tahea led the way, with a load of coco-nuts. The difficulties increased as they ascended; the paths running along the narrow ridge of steep hills, whose sides were almost perpendicular. The greatest danger arose from the slipperiness, occasioned by the rains of the preceding day. When they had ascended to a considerable height, they found thick shrubberies and woods on these steep sides; and attempting to col-

* See vol. I. p. 339.

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left plants there, they frequently met with precipices which are really tremendous. Still higher up the whole ridge was covered with a forest, where they gathered a number of plants, which they had never seen in the vallies below. After they had crossed the ridge, there fell a heavy shower of rain; and they coming to a very dangerous part, Tahea said they could go no farther. They resolved however to leave their heavy plant and provision bags behind, and went up with a single musket to the summit of the mountain, which they reached in about half an hour. Just about that time the clouds broke, and they had a prospect of Huahine, Tethuroa, and Tabbuamanoo. The view of the fertile plain under their feet, and of the valley of Matavai, where the river makes innumerable meanders, was delightful in the highest degree. Thick clouds however prevented their discerning any thing on the south side of the island. In a few moments even the other part was covered again, and they were involved in a mist which wetted them to the skin. In their descent my father had the misfortune to fall in a very rocky place, and bruised his leg in such a manner, that he nearly fainted away. When he recovered, and attempted to proceed, he found that he had also received a dangerous rupture, for which he now continues to wear a bandage. Tahea assisted him in going down; and they all arrived on board about four o'clock in the afternoon. The upper hills they found to consist of a kind of clay extremely compact and

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and stiff. The vegetation on the upper part of the mountains was luxuriant, and the woods consisted of many unknown sorts of plants. They enquired particularly for the perfume-wood, with which the natives perfume their oil. Tahea shewed them several plants which are sometimes used as substitutes; but the most precious sort itself he either could not, or would not, point out to them. O-Mai has told me that there are at Taheitee no less than fourteen different sorts of plants employed for perfuming; which shews how remarkably fond these people are of fine smells.

The number of common women on board our ship was considerably increased since we had begun to deal in red feathers; and this night in particular many strolled about the decks who could not meet with partners. The abundance of pork likewise attracted them; for being almost entirely deprived of that rich food in their own household, they were eager to obtain it among our sailors, and sometimes consumed incredible quantities. The goodness of their appetite and digestion exposed them however to the inconvenience of restlessness, and often disturbed those who wished to sleep after the fatigues of the day. On certain urgent occasions they always required the attendance of their lovers; but as they were frequently refused, the decks were made to resemble the paths in the islands. Every evening these women divided into different troops, which danced on the quarter-deck, the fore-castle, and the main-deck. Their mirth was

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often extravagant and noisy ; and sometimes their ideas were so original as to give great amusement. We had a very weak scorbutic patient when we arrived at Taheitee : this man being somewhat recovered by means of fresh vegetable food, and animated by the example of the crew, wooed a Taheitian girl ; about dusk led her to his birth, and lighted a candle. She looked her lover in the face, and finding he had lost one eye, she took him by the hand, and conducted him upon deck again to a girl that was one-eyed likewise, giving him to understand, that that person was a fit partner for him, but that for her part she did not choose to put up with a blind lover.

MAY.
Sunday 1.

Two days after, my father, being in some measure recovered from the fatigue of his late excursion, and from the bruise which he had received, went on shore, and found there o-Rettee, the chief of o-Hiddca, a district and harbour where M. de Bougainville lay at anchor. This chief asked captain Cook, whether, on his return to England, he should see M. de Bougainville, whom he called Potavirree ; and being answered in the negative, he put the same question to my father. He replied, it was not impossible, though he lived in a different kingdom. “ Then,” said o-Rettee, “ tell him I am his friend, and long to see him again at o-Taheitee ; and in order that you may remember it, I will give you a hog as soon as I return from my district, to which I am now going.” With that he began to relate, that his friend

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friend M. de Bougainville had had two ships, and that on board of one there was a woman, but that she was ugly. He rested a long while on this circumstance, and seemed to think it extraordinary that a single woman should go on such an expedition. He likewise confirmed the account of a visit from a Spanish ship, which we had learned during our first stay at Taheitee; but he assured us that he and his countrymen had no great affection for them. O-Rettee was a fine grey-headed man, but very healthy and vigorous, as the old people of Taheitee in general seem to be; his countenance was the picture of a lively, chearful, and generous man. He told us he had been in many battles, and shewed us several wounds he had received, particularly a blow with a stone on his temple, which had left a deep scar. He had fought by Tootahah's side, on the day when that chief was killed.

The next morning Dr. Sparrman went with me up the valley of Matavaï, which the natives call TOOA-OOROO. This was the first excursion of any length which I undertook after my illness: I was therefore highly delighted with the beautiful appearance of the vegetable creation, which had been revived by the late rainy season; and surprised at the vast improvements which I saw throughout the whole district. Wherever I went, I saw new and extensive plantations, in excellent order; I found numbers of new houses built, and the natives at work upon new canoes in many places.

Monday

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places. It was plain, during our former stay, that the war between the two peninsulas had been distressful to this part of the larger one; but at present there was not the least trace of it remaining; the whole country was a scene of plenty, where numbers of hogs grazed around every house, which none of the natives attempted to conceal from us, as they had formerly done. I was much pleased to observe an alteration in the behaviour of the natives, who never once importuned us with begging for beads or nails, and who, instead of being backward to part with their store, appeared eager to out-do each other in acts of benevolence and hospitality. We did not pass a single hut, where we were not invited to come in, and partake of some refreshment; and we never accepted their invitation, without being made extremely happy by their unaffected kindness. About ten o'clock we reached the mansion of that hospitable man, who had entertained us so well during our former stay on the island, when we came from the hills excessively fatigued *. He treated us with a few coco-nuts, and we promised to come and dine with him on our return down the valley. He gave his directions accordingly, and accompanied us all the way. We found no habitations beyond his house, as the mountains on both sides approached very close together, and were excessively steep. Having ad-

* See vol. I. p. 351.

vanced about a mile, we came to a place where the hill on the east side formed a perpendicular wall, not less than forty yards high, beyond which it had some inclination, and was crowned with shrubberies to a great height. A fine cascade fell from this fringed part along the wall into the river, and made the scene more lively, which in itself was dark, wild, and romantic. When we came nearer, we observed that the perpendicular rock had many projecting longitudinal angles, and on wading through the water to it, we found it to consist of real columns of black compact basalt, such as the natives manufacture into tools. They stood upright, parallel, and joined to each other. Their diameter seemed not to exceed fifteen or eighteen inches, and only one or two angles of the same pillar projected or were visible. As it is now generally supposed that basalt is a production of volcanoes, we have here another strong proof that Taheitee has undergone great changes by such subterraneous fires, where nature produces the most wonderful chymical operations, upon a very extensive plan. Beyond these columns the vale, for the space of two or three miles, is more and more confined by mountains, so that we found it difficult to proceed, having been obliged to cross the river near fifty times. At last we came to the same place where Mr. Banks was obliged to stop in his excursion*.

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* See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p. 173.

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We found it equally impossible to proceed; and being much fatigued by continually clambering over rocks and rugged ground, set out on our return. By the way we collected some plants which we had not yet seen; and after a walk of two hours, reached the dwelling of our hospitable friend. We dined heartily on vegetables, and rewarded our host with red feathers to his heart's content; not forgetting to give him some iron-ware, which would prove useful to him when the feathers were lost or destroyed. His daughter, whom we had seen on our former visit, was now married to a man in a remote district, our presents having made her a rich heiress in this country. We came on board near sunset, having rambled very leisurely through the plain of Matavai, captivated by the beauty and fertility of the prospect, and the additional lustre which a fine evening spread over it.

Captain Cook, with my father and several officers, had been at Parre to visit O-Too. They had been conducted to a place where a new war-canoe was building, which the king intended to call O-Taheitee. But captain Cook made him a present of an English jack *, a grapnel, and a grapnel-rope, and desired that it might be called the Britannia. The king immediately consented, the jack was hoisted, and the people gave three cheers.

* An ensign or flag, commonly hoisted on the bowsprit.

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I recommended it to Mr. Hodges to visit the cascade which I had found in the valley; and accordingly the next day he went up with several gentlemen, and took a view of it, and of the basalt-pillars under it. We ate of a large albecore (*Scomber thynnus*, Linn.) that day, which gave us all a sudden heat in the face, and a violent head-ache. Some had likewise a purging; and a servant who had entirely dined upon it, was violently affected with vomiting and purging. It is probable that the fish was caught by means of some intoxicating plant, which had perhaps communicated a noxious quality to the meat.

We learnt about this time that Mahine had married the daughter of Toperree, a chief of Matavai. A midshipman acquainted us that he had been present on the occasion, and that he had seen a number of ceremonies performed: but being intreated to give the particulars, he said, that though they were extremely curious, he could not remember one of them, and did not know how to relate them. By this means we lost the opportunity of making a considerable discovery, in regard to the customs of these islanders. It is pity that no intelligent observer was present, who might at least have related what he had seen. Mahine came on board with his bride, who was a very young girl, of a low stature, but not remarkable for beauty. She was very well skilled in the art of begging for presents, and went through the whole ship collecting a vast number of beads,

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nails, shirts, and red feathers, for which she was indebted to the friendship which every body felt for Mahine. This youth told us he had a great mind to settle at Taheitee, since his friends had offered him land, house, and property of all kinds there. He was received into an aree's family, esteemed by the king himself, and respected by all the people; nay, one of his friends had given him an attendant, or towtow, a boy who constantly waited on him wherever he went; who punctually executed all his orders, and seemed to be but little different from a slave.

Though Mahine had laid aside the idea of going to England, yet the lively boy, Noona, was very desirous of visiting that country, and spoke to my father and several other gentlemen, in the most urgent terms, to take him on board. As my father proposed to take him entirely at his own expence, captain Cook consented immediately to his reception. The boy was however told, that he must never expect to come back, since it was very doubtful whether another ship would be sent to Taheitee again. Noona was too much bent upon going with us, to hesitate a moment even at this difficulty. He resigned the hope of returning to his country, for the pleasure of visiting ours. In the evening however of the same day captain Cook declared he would not take him on board, and he was accordingly obliged to remain at Taheitee. As it was intended to teach him the rudiments of the arts of the carpenter and smith, he would
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have returned to his country at least as valuable a member of society as O-Mai, who, after a stay of two years in England, will be able to amuse his countrymen with the music of a hand-organ, and with the exhibition of a puppet-show.

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We passed several days in visiting the plains of Matavaï, and the extensive valley of Ahonnoo, which is one of the most fertile, and, at the same time, most picturesque, in the whole island. On the 6th, in the afternoon, my father and Dr. Sparrman went up to the hills a second time, and I accompanied them, in hopes of meeting with some new plants there, since we had entirely exhausted the Flora of the plains. We passed the night again in Tahea's hut, with this difference, that we did not keep watch. Tahea was a merry humorous fellow; and it was his constant request to us to call him *medua* (father), and his wife *o-pattèa* * (mother.)

Friday 6.

We went up early the next day, but did not care to go quite to the summit. In the forest we collected a number of new plants, and shot a swallow. As we set out before sunrise, Tahea and his brother, who went up with us, caught some terns, which slept on the bushes along the path. He told us that many aquatic-birds come to rest on the moun-

* *Pattèa* is properly a word of endearment, equivalent to our *mamma*. This last the Tahaitians likewise make use of in the identical sense that we do,

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tains, after roaming all day over the sea in quest of food; and that the tropic-bird in particular has its nest there. The long tail feathers, which it annually sheds, are commonly found there, and much sought after by the natives. We saw the clouds coming over the summit, and descending towards us; therefore, in order to keep our plants dry, we hastened down, and at four o'clock reached the ship, where we found the whole royal family assembled, and among them Neehourai, the eldest sister of O-Too, married to T'-aree-Derre, the son of Ammo*. T'-aree-Watow, the king's next brother, staid after they were all gone, and passed the night on board. To amuse him we let off some false fires at the mast-head, with which he was highly entertained. At supper, he enumerated to us all his relations, and gave us some account of the history of Taheitee, which o-Mai entirely confirmed to me, after my return to England. From his information we learned, that Ammo, Happai, and Tootahah were three brothers, and that Ammo, being the eldest, was king of all Taheitee. He married o-Poorèa (Oberea) a princess of the royal family, and had by her t'-Aree-Derre, who was immediately styled Aree-rahai, or king of Taheitee. During the period of Ammo's reign, captain Wallis visited the island, and found o-Poorèa (Oberea) invested with regal au-

* See vol. I. p. 358. Likewise Hawkesworth, vol. II. p. 154.

thority.

thority. About a year after his departure, a war broke out between o-Ammo and his vassal Aheatua, the king of the lesser peninsula. Aheatua landed at Paparra, where Ammo commonly resided, and after routing his forces with great slaughter, destroyed the plantations and houses by fire, and carried off all the hogs and poultry which he could find. Ammo and Poorea, with all their attendants, among whom o-Mai, according to his own account, was one, fled to the mountains in December 1768. At last the conqueror consented to a peace, on condition that Ammo should entirely resign the government, and that the succession should be taken from his son, and conferred upon o-Too, the eldest son of his brother Happai. This was agreed to, and Too-tahah, the youngest brother of Ammo, was appointed regent. This revolution bears a great resemblance to those which happen too frequently in the despotic kingdoms of Asia. It is but seldom that the conqueror dares to govern the country which he has subdued; in general he only plunders it, and appoints another sovereign, whom he chooses from among the royal family of the land. O-Poorea soon after quarrelled with her husband, and frequently beat him; upon which they separated; he took a very handsome young woman to his bed, and she heaped her favours on Obadee and other lovers. Some infidelity on the part of Ammo seems to have been the foundation of this quarrel. These accidents, which are not so frequent at Tahitee as in Eng-

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land, are however not absolutely unusual in that island, especially when the lady has lost the charms which rendered her amiable, and yet demands the same attention as before. An instance similar to this happened on board. Polatehera, formerly the wife of Potatow, but now separated from him, had taken a young husband or lover in his stead, as soon as her first lord had provided himself with another partner. The young man had an affection for a Taheitian girl, and our ship was the place of their rendezvous. They did not however contrive their amours so well, as to remain undiscovered. The masculine Polatehera caught them one morning, gave her rival many hearty boxes on the ear, and humbled the guilty lover with a severe reprimand.

Captain Cook found the government of Taheitee in the hands of Tootahah, when he arrived in the Endeavour. After his departure Tootahah, being greatly enriched by the presents he had obtained, persuaded the chiefs of O-Taheitee-nue, or the Great Peninsula, to go against Aheatua, whom he could not forgive on account of the insult shewn to his family. They equipped a fleet, and went to Tiarraboo, where Aheatua was prepared to receive them. He was an old man *, desirous to end his days in peace; and therefore sent to Tootahah, to assure him that he was his friend, and always intended to continue so; and

* See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p. 158.

that

that he desired him to return to his country, without attacking those who had an affection for him. Tootahah was not dissuaded from his purpose, but gave orders to engage. The loss on both sides was nearly equal, but Tootahah retired, in order to attack his enemy by land. Happai, with all his family, disapproved of this step, and remained at o-Parre ; but Tootahah took o-Too with him, and marched to the isthmus between the two peninsulas. Here Aheatua met him, and a pitched battle ensued, which ended in the total dispersion of Tootahah's army. Tootahah himself was killed. Some told us he had been taken prisoner, and was put to death afterwards ; but others, and among them o-Mai, asserted that he had been slain in the heat of the engagement. O-Too retired precipitately to the mountains with a few chosen friends, whilst Aheatua, with his victorious forces, immediately marched to Matavaï and o-Parre. At his arrival Happai retired to the mountains, but Aheatua sent to assure him that he had no quarrel with him or his family, and that his wish had always been for peace. Those on the mountain enquired in their turn concerning the fate of Tootahah and o-Too ; they heard that the former was killed, and that no body knew what was become of the other. Soon after o-Too arrived through many difficult passes, and over precipices, and coming down from the highest summits, joined his father, and all who were with him. A general peace was immediately concluded, after which

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which O-Too assumed the reins of government himself, and the vast improvements in the country, which we noticed in eight months time, seem to prove that he is a very intelligent man, who promotes the general good of his subjects. Aheatua died soon after; and his son of the same name, whom we found at Aitepeha in August 1773, succeeded him.

Te-aree-Watow farther acquainted us, that his father had eight children. 1. The eldest, Tedua (princess) Nee-hourai, who seemed to be about thirty years old, and is married to the son of Ammo, called T'-aree-Derre. 2. The next Tedua (princess) Towrai, was unmarried, about seven and twenty, and appeared to have almost as great authority among the women, as the king her brother had in the whole island. 3. O-Too, aree-rahai, or king of Taheitee, is about twenty-six years of age; Aheatua is obliged to uncover his shoulders in his presence, as before his rightful paramount. 4. Tedua (princess) Tehamai, who was the next to him, died young. 5. T'-aree-Watow himself was the next in order, and appeared to be about sixteen years of age; he told us he had another name, but which I have forgotten, from whence I conclude, that this which I have mentioned is only his title. 6. His next brother is Tubuai-terai, likewise called Mayorro, a boy of ten or eleven years old. 7. Erreretua, a little girl of seven years; and 8. Tepaow, a boy of four or five, are the two youngest. A
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healthy, but not corpulent habit of body, and a large bushy head of hair, were extremely characteristic of the whole family. Their features in general were pleasing, but their complexions rather brown, except that of Neehou-raï and O-Too. The whole family appeared to be very much beloved among the nation, who in general are extremely fond of their chiefs. In return, their behaviour to every body was so affable and kind, that it commanded a general good-will. Tedua-Towraï commonly accompanied the king her brother when he came to visit us on board; and did not think she demeaned herself by going to trade for red feathers among the common sailors, in exchange for cloths and various curiosities. She happened once to be in the cabin with O-Too, captain Cook, and my father, looking over great heaps of iron ware, and other articles of trade; but the captain being called out, she whispered something to her brother, who immediately endeavoured to divert my father's attention by asking several questions. My father took the hint, and the princess believing she was not observed, concealed two large spike-nails in the folds of her garments. When captain Cook returned, my father acquainted him with this little stratagem; but they agreed that it was most politic not to take any notice of it. Before this time, she had frequently expressed a particular desire to carry away with her one or other article of our riches, and had never been refused; on the contrary, we had commonly

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given more than she demanded. It was therefore extraordinary, that she should be tempted to steal that which might so easily have been obtained by fair means; it should seem as if she had a strange predilection for things acquired by stealth, and for which she was only indebted to her own ingenuity. Some of the women on board likewise accused her of admitting tow-tows, or men of the lowest rank, to her bed at night privately, and unknown to her brother. In a country where the impulses of nature are followed without restraint, it would be extraordinary if an exception should be made, and still more so, if it should confine those who are accustomed to have their will in most other respects. The passions of mankind are similar every where; the same instincts are active in the slave and the prince; consequently the history of their effects must ever be the same in every country.

Sunday 1.

O-Too came to the tents on Point Venus very early in the morning, and acquainted the serjeant of marines that one of the natives had stolen a musket from a centry, and was run off with it: he likewise dispatched Tee, his messenger, on board to fetch his brother, who obeyed the summons, after breakfasting with us. As soon as they returned on shore, O-Too, with all his family, fled to the westward, being apprehensive that the musket would be redemanded at their hands. Captain Cook seized several double travelling-canoes belonging to different chiefs, and particularly that

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that of Maratata, who was accused of having ordered one of his attendants to commit the theft. This chief himself was in his canoe, and hastened to convey it out of our reach ; but the captain firing several muskets at it, Maratata and all his rowers leaped into the sea, and swam ashore. About noon Tee came on board, and acquainted us that the thief was gone to the Lesser Peninsula, or Tiarraboo ; upon which all the canoes, except Maratata's were again restored to their owners. We kept quiet on board till the afternoon, having but few of the natives with us, among whom there was not one woman. Towards evening captain Cook went ashore, and soon after some natives arrived in a most profuse perspiration, who brought not only the musket, but also a bundle of cloaths and a two-hour-glass, which had been stolen about the same time. They related, that having overtaken the thief, they had beaten him most severely, and obliged him to shew where he had concealed the stolen goods in the sand. Notwithstanding their appearance, we did not give much credit to their story, especially as one of them had been so lately seen about the tents, that it was impossible he could have run to any great distance. They received some presents, however, to shew that we meant to reward their zeal in our service. The next day there was no trade carried on ; but Tee came on board again, desiring the captain to visit the king at Parré, who was *matòw*, an ambiguous court-phrase, expressing not only that he was

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Tuesday 10.

afraid, but that he wished to be put into good humour with presents. The captain and my father went to him, whilst Dr. Sparrman and myself were put ashore at the tents. We found the people a good deal terrified at the extraordinary steps which had been taken, on our part, to do justice to ourselves. They had received strict orders from the king not to sell any provisions, however they treated us with coconuts and other refreshments with their usual hospitality. At noon we came on board, and the captain returned soon after, having ratified the friendship with O-Too. No women came on board this night, the king having prohibited it, lest they should give occasion to complaints, by stealing from our people. However the next day they were permitted to visit our sailors again; and with them came a number of canoes loaden with vegetable provisions, and some with fresh fish. Captain Cook sent Mahine with several presents to Towhah, into Atahooroo, in return for several hogs which he had received. During his absence, O-Poorea (Oberea) once the queen of Taheitce, came on board, and presented two hogs to captain Cook. The fame of our red feathers had reached to the plains of Paparra, for she told us she was come to have some of them. She appeared to be between forty and fifty; her person was tall, large, and fat, and her features, which seemed once to have been more agreeable, were now rather masculine. However something of her former greatness remained; she had “an eye
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to threaten or command *," and a free and noble deportment. She did not stay long on board, probably because she felt herself of less consequence in our eyes than formerly. After enquiring for her friends of the Endeavour, she went ashore in her canoe. O-Ammo likewise came to the ship about this time, but was still less noticed than his late comfort; and being little known on board, was not permitted to come even into the captain's cabin. It was with difficulty that he could dispose of his hogs, as we had now so many on board, that we did not care to crowd the decks with more. These two royal personages are living examples of the instability of human grandeur.

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We contrived several diversions for O-Too on the 12th. We fired our guns with round and grape-shot across the reef into the sea, at which he and a crowd of several thousand spectators were highly delighted. In the evening we let off a few sky-rockets, and some air-balloons, which heightened their raptures, and filled them with admiration. They looked upon us as extraordinary people, who had fires and stars at command, and gave our fire-works the name of *Hiva-Bretannee*, the British Festival.

Thursday 12.

All the next day a number of people surrounded the ship, who brought no provisions, but great quantities of cloth and curiosities, having observed that we prepared to leave them.

* Shakespeare.

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Saturday 14.

In the afternoon we went to O-Parre with captain Cook, and found our worthy friend Towhah there with Mahine. Towhah had been dangerously ill of a disorder similar to the gout, and his legs were still swelled, and excessively painful. He was however come to take leave of us, and promised to visit us the next morning. O-Too likewise met us there, and spoke of sending a supply of bread-fruit, which we valued more than hogs at present. Early the next morning we received the visit of a great part of the nobility of the whole island. Among them was Happai and all his children, except O-Too. Towhah and his wife likewise came about eight o'clock, and brought great loads of presents of all sorts to us. The good old admiral was so ill that he could not stand on his legs; he was very desirous however to come upon deck; we therefore slung a chair in ropes, and hoisted him up in it, to his great delight, and to the astonishment of all his countrymen. We discoursed on the subject of the intended expedition against Eimeo, which he still assured us would take place soon after our departure. Notwithstanding his illness, he was determined to command the fleet in person, saying it was of little consequence if they killed an old man, who could no longer be useful. He was very chearful under his infirmities, and his way of thinking was nobly disinterested, and seemed to be animated by true heroism. He took leave of us with a degree of cordiality and emotion, which touched the heart, and might have reconciled

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ciled a misanthrope to the world. Mahine, who came on board with him, resolved to go with us to Raietea, to visit his relations and friends in the Society Islands, and then to return to Taheitee, as soon as he should meet with an opportunity. He considered, that having possessions in several of those islands, it was his interest to return thither, and to dispose of them to the greatest advantage. He introduced to captain Cook several natives of Borabora, one of which was his brother; they desired a passage to the Society Islands, which captain Cook readily granted. With a degree of exultation, he imparted to us in confidence, that he had shared O-Poorea's bed the last night; this he esteemed as a great honour and mark of eminence, and shewed us several pieces of the best cloth, which she had presented to him. O-Poorea was therefore not too old to relish sensual gratifications even in a warm climate, where the epocha of maturity seems to happen at a much earlier age than in colder countries, and where of course every stage of human life might be supposed to have only a proportionate duration. O-Too not being arrived on board, we went to visit him once more, and to view some war-canoes which lay at Parre. We found only forty-four, all which belonged to Tittaha, the smallest district in the north-west peninsula of Taheitee. O-Too ordered some military evolutions to be made before us, which were performed with great dexterity. The chiefs were all dressed in their habits,

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habits, and had targets, but no helmets. There were also some little boys, who wore the dresses, and parried the spears with as great agility as grown people. Their method was to rest the point of a spear or long battle-axe on the ground before them, so that it made an angle of about 25 or 30 deg. with the ground. With the other end, which they held in their hand, they contrived to keep the spear always in the middle, right before the body. By this means the spear of the adversary always slid off on one side or the other, without ever coming near the body. Some of the canoes likewise performed part of their manœuvre. They came singly one after another through the narrow entrance of the reef; but as soon as they were within, they formed in a line, and joined close together. On the middlemost canoe there was a man placed behind the fighting stage, who gave signals with a green branch to the rowers, either to paddle to the right or left. The movement in consequence of his command was in perfect tune, and so very regular, that it seemed as if all the paddles were parts of the same machine which moved some hundred arms at once. This man might be compared to the *Κελευσης* in the ships of the ancient Greeks: indeed, the view of the Taheitian fleet frequently brought to our mind an idea of the naval force which that nation employed in the first ages of its existence, and induced us to compare them together. The Greeks were doubtless better armed, having

having the use of metals; but it seemed plain, from the writings of Homer, in spite of poetical embellishment, that their mode of fighting was irregular, and their arms simple, like those of Taheitee. The united efforts of Greece against Troy, in remote antiquity, could not be much more considerable than the armament of O-Too against the isle of Eimeo; and the boasted *mille carinæ*, were probably not more formidable than a fleet of large canoes, which require from fifty to an hundred and twenty men to paddle them. The navigation of the Greeks in those days was not more extensive than that which is practised by the Taheitians at present, being confined to short passages from island to island; and as the stars at night directed the mariners through the Archipelago at that time, so they still continue to guide others in the Pacific ocean. The Greeks were brave; but the numerous wounds of the Taheitian chiefs, are all proofs of their spirit and prowess. It seems to be certain, that in their battles they rouse themselves into a kind of phrenzy, and that their bravery is a violent fit of passion. From Homer's battles it is evident, that the heroism which produced the wonders he records, was exactly of the same nature. Let us for a moment be allowed to carry this comparison still farther. The heroes of Homer are represented to us as men of supernatural size and force. The Taheitian chiefs, compared to the common people, are so much superior in stature and elegance of form, that

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they look like a different race*. It requires a more than ordinary quantity of food to satisfy stomachs of unusual dimensions. Accordingly we find, that the mighty men at the siege of Troy, and the chiefs of Taheitee, are both famous for eating; and it appears that pork was a diet no less admired by the Greeks, than it is by the Taheitians at this day. Simplicity of manners is observable in both nations; and their domestic character alike is hospitable, affectionate, and humane. There is even a similarity in their political constitution. The chiefs of districts at Taheitee are powerful princes, who have not more respect for O-Too, than the Greek heroes had for the "King of men;" and the common people are so little noticed in the Iliad, that they appear to have had no greater consequence, than the tow-tows in the South Sea. In short, I believe the similitude might be traced in many other instances; but it was my intention only to hint at it, and not to abuse the patience of my readers. What I have here said is sufficient to prove, that men in a similar state of civilization resemble each other more than we are aware of, even in the most opposite extremes of the world. I should be sorry to have made these slight remarks, if they should unfortunately lead some learned schemer on a wrong scent. The itch of tracing the pedigree

* M. de Bougainville has been led by this difference of appearance to assert, that they were really two different races. See his *Voyage round the World*, p. 249.

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of nations has lately made such havock in history, by endeavouring to combine the Egyptians and Chinese, that the learned must sincerely wish, it may never become a contagious distemper.

O-Too came on board, and dined with us for the last time. He proposed to my father and Mr. Hodges to stay at Taheitee, and promised very seriously to make them arees or chiefs of the rich districts of Parre and Matavai. Whether he had any interested motives for this proposal, or whether it came merely from the fullness of his heart, I cannot determine. As soon as the dinner was over we weighed our anchor, and set sail. O-Too requested the captain to fire some cannon, and was the last Taheitian who stepped into his canoe, after cordially embracing us all. The noise of the cannon, by stunning our ears in some measure, diverted our thoughts from taking that melancholy turn which is natural on these occasions. It prevented our giving a loose to the soft feelings with which the worth of this simple and beneficent nation had inspired us; but it was a favourable opportunity for one of our seamen to make his escape to the island. He was observed swimming towards the shore, and some canoes were seen paddling to his assistance, when we dispatched a boat which brought him back, much against his inclinations. His frolic cost him a fortnight's confinement in irons. There is great reason to suppose that a plan was concerted between him and

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the natives, who perhaps had promised themselves as great advantages from retaining an European, as that European might expect by dwelling with them. If we fairly consider the different situations of a common sailor on board the *Resolution*, and of a Taheitian on his island, we cannot blame the former, if he attempted to rid himself of the numberless discomforts of a voyage round the world, and preferred an easy life, free from cares, in the happiest climate of the world, to the frequent vicissitudes which are entailed upon the mariner. The most favourable prospects of future success in England, which he might form in idea, could never be so flattering to his senses, as the lowly hope of living like the meanest Taheitian. It was highly probable, that immediately on his return to England, instead of indulging in repose those limbs which had been tossed from pole to pole, he would be placed in another ship, where the same fatigues, nocturnal watches, and unwholesome food, would still fall to his share; or though he were allowed to solace himself for a few days, after a long series of hardships, he must expect to be seized in the midst of his enjoyments, and to be dragged an unwilling champion to the defence of his country: to be cut off in the flower of his age, or to remain miserably crippled, with only half his limbs, might be the alternatives to which he would be reduced. But supposing he could escape these misfortunes, still he must earn his subsistence in England,

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at the expence of labour, and “in the sweat of his brow,” when this eldest curse on mankind is scarcely felt at Taheitee. The drudgery of our country people is continual, and their exertion of strength very violent. Before they can make the least use of corn, they must undergo the various labours of ploughing, reaping, thrashing, and grinding. They are obliged to cultivate an hundred times more than they can consume, in order to support a breed of animals, whose assistance in husbandry is absolutely necessary; and to pay for the liberty of tilling the ground, for the articles of dress indispensable in a raw climate; for their tools, and a variety of things, which they might easily make with their own hands, if agriculture alone did not engross their time and attention. The tradesman, the manufacturer, the artist, all are obliged to work with equal assiduity, in order to furnish the goods, in return for which the farmer gives them bread. How different from this, how indolent is the life of the Taheitian! Two or three bread-fruit trees, which grow almost without any culture, and which flourish as long as he himself can expect to live, supply him with abundant food during three-fourths of the year. The superfluity is fermented and preserved, as a wholesome, nourishing and palatable bread, for the remaining months. Those plants which require the greatest attendance at Taheitee, the cloth-trees and eddo-roots, are cultivated with
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much less trouble than our cabbages and kitchen-herbs, though their uses are infinitely more extensive. The whole process necessary to plant a bread-tree, is to break off a sound branch, and stick it in the ground. The banana, whose rich clusters seem too great a weight for the herbaceous stem, annually shoots afresh from the root. The royal palm, at once the ornament of the plain, and a useful gift of nature to its inhabitants; the golden apple, whose salutary effects we have so strongly experienced, and a number of other plants, all thrive with such luxuriance, and require so little trouble, that I may venture to call them spontaneous. The manufacture of dress is an agreeable pastime for the women, and the building of houses and canoes, with the making of tools and arms, are occupations which become amusing by being voluntary, and intended for the more immediate use of the artificers. Most of their days are therefore spent in a round of various enjoyments, in a country where nature has lavished many a pleasing landscape; where the temperature of the air is warm, but continually refreshed by a wholesome breeze from the sea; and where the sky is almost constantly serene. This climate, and its salubrious productions, contribute to the strength and the elegance of their form. They are all well-proportioned, and some would have been selected by Phidias or Praxiteles, as models of masculine beauty. Their features

features are sweet, and unruffled by violent passions. Their large eyes, their arched eyebrows, and high forehead, give a noble air to their heads, which are adorned by strong beards, and a comely growth of hair *. These, as well as their beautiful teeth, are the proofs of vigour, and of a sound habit of body. The sex, the partners of their felicity, are likewise well-formed; their irregular charms win the heart of their countrymen, and their unaffected smiles, and a wish to please, insure them mutual esteem and love. A kind of happy uniformity runs through the whole life of the Tahitians. They rise with the sun, and hasten to rivers and fountains, to perform an ablution equally reviving and cleanly. They pass the morning at work, or walk about till the heat of the day increases, when they retreat to their dwellings, or repose under some tufted tree. There they amuse themselves with smoothing their hair, and anoint it with fragrant oils; or they blow the flute, and sing to it, or listen to the songs of the birds. At the hour of noon, or a little later, they go to dinner. After their meals they resume their domestic amusements, during which the flame of mutual affection spreads in every heart, and unites the rising generation with new and tender ties. The lively

* It has been said by other navigators, that they eradicate the hair of the upper-lip, the breast and arm-pits; but this is by no means a general custom. The chiefs in particular, and the king himself, preserve their whiskers.

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jest, without any ill-nature, the artless tale, the jocund dance and frugal supper, bring on the evening; and another visit to the river concludes the actions of the day. Thus contented with their simple way of life, and placed in a delightful country, they are free from cares, and happy in their ignorance.

Ihr leben fließet verborgen,
Wie klare bäche durch blumen dahin.

KLEIST.

It must be allowed, that these advantages are decisive with those, who have nothing so much at heart as the gratification of their senses. No wonder then that a sailor, perhaps less guided by reason than the rest of his comrades, should hurry on headlong after the pleasures of the present moment. It is certain, at the same time, that being born and bred up in an active sphere of life, acquainted with numberless subjects, utterly unknown to the Tahitians, and accustomed to extend his thoughts to past and future occurrences, he would shortly have been tired of an uninterrupted tranquility and continual sameness, suited only to a people whose notions are simple and confined.

The ideas of happiness are infinitely various in different nations, according to their manners, principles, and degrees of civilization. As the productions and apparent good qualities

lities of our globe, are either profusely or sparingly distributed, on its different parts, the diversity of human opinions is a convincing proof of that paternal love, and unerring wisdom, which, in the plan of this world, has provided for the good of mankind, alike in the torrid and the frigid zone.

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Fix'd to no spot is happiness sincere,
'Tis no where to be found, or ev'ry where.

POPE.

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C H A P. VII.

The second stay at the Society Islands.

Saturday 14.

A Brisk gale carried us swiftly from Taheitee. We were still busied in contemplating its beautiful scenery, when an unexpected object on our own decks attracted our attention. This was no other than one of the finest women whom we had seen in the country, and who had resolved to go with us to Raietea (Ulietea), her native island. Her parents, from whom she had eloped to Taheitee with a favoured lover some years ago, were still alive, and the force of affection urged her irresistibly to visit them. She was by no means apprehensive of their anger, but on the contrary expected a kind reception. The little youthful errors of the heart are easily forgiven, where interest and ambition have so little sway. She had concealed herself on board during O-Too's last visit, as he had expressly ordered that no woman should go with us; but being safe at present, she ventured to make her appearance. Mahine's brother, his servant, and two other natives of Borabora, likewise took a passage with us, confidently relying on a people who had so faithfully brought one of their countrymen back again, and who had endeavoured to shew him every kindness in
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their power. Their company gave life to our conversation, and shortened the day of our passage to Huahine. The girl was dressed in a suit of cloaths belonging to one of the officers, and was so much pleased with her new garments, that she went ashore in them as soon as she arrived at that island. She dined with the officers, without the least scruple, and laughed at the prejudices of her countrymen with all the good sense of a citizen of the world. With a proper education she might have shone as a woman of genius even in Europe; since, without the advantage of a cultivated understanding, her great vivacity joined to very polite manners, already were sufficient to make her company supportable.

We sailed on all night; and the next morning, at day break, the island of Huahine was in sight. In the afternoon we came to an anchor in the northern branch of Wharre harbour, where we lay not more than fifty yards from the shore. We were visited by some of the natives, who brought hogs to sell, but demanded hatchets in return, which were now so scarce on board, that we reserved them for great occasions. Oree, the regent of the island, came to us before sunset in a small canoe, and brought a hog and a target of war to captain Cook, for which he received a suitable present. He gave us some pepper-roots this time, but without any of the ceremonies observed at our former visit

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to the island *. In the evening we had a perfect calm, and were highly delighted with viewing and hearing the natives, who sat in their houses along the shore, around their candles, which are oily nuts stuck on a slender stick. One of the first who came on board the next day was Porea, the Tahitian youth, who had left that island with us eight months ago, but had withdrawn himself from us at Raiatea. He told us, it was by no means with his consent that he staid behind. Having an amour with a pretty girl, she had appointed a rendezvous, to which he had hastened, after delivering the powder-horn to captain Cook. On his arriving at the place appointed with his fair mistress, he had been attacked by her father, with some attendants, who had stripped him of his European cloaths, beaten him soundly, and confined him till after our departure. He had then taken the first opportunity of crossing over to Huahine, where he had been supported by the hospitality of several friends, so that he was now in a very good plight. From his story we may gather, that the people of these islands do not always permit their daughters to follow their own inclinations; though according to our ideas, Porea's attempt did not authorize the father to rob him of his cloaths.

We went on shore early, and rambled to the lagoons, which the sea forms to the northward of the harbour.

* See vol. I, p. 376.

We

We found them furrounded by fwamps, filled with variety of East Indian plants ; and their shores confifted of a flimy mud, which, from its appearance, and fetid fmell, we thought to be of the fame nature and qualities with *hepar sulphuris*. There were great flocks of ducks upon the lagoon ; but we found it difficult to approach them, as we funk into the mud, whenever we ventured to walk through it. The profpect which this piece of water forms, is however extremely pleafing and picturesque. The ftinking effluvia of the lagoons are probably efteemed unwholefome, as we obferved but very few houfes on their banks. On the fea fide they are inclofed by a narrow coral ledge covered with fand, a little elevated, along which we found great number of coco-nut palms. The marfhes flope down from this immediately to the ftagnant water. We were entertained by one of the natives with coco-nuts, which were at prefent very fcarce upon the ifland. In returning home our fervant, who carried a bag with plants, and another with iron tools, was knocked down a few yards behind us, and would have been robbed, if we had not turned back by chance ; but at fight of us the thieves ran off. This was the fecond time that our people were thus boldly attacked by the natives of Huahine, who feem, upon the whole, to be more licentious under the infirm government of old Oree, than thofe of Taheitee, and of the other Society Iflands.

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This old chief appeared to be much more indolent at this time than at our first visit, and his intellects seemed to be considerably impaired. His eyes were red and inflamed, and his whole body lean and scaly. We were not long at a loss to account for this change, having observed that he was now much addicted to the intoxicating pepper-draught, of which he drank great quantities, prepared excessively strong. Mahine had the honour of drinking with him for several nights together, and received such a share of his nauseous beverage, that he commonly awoke the next morning with a violent head-ache.

We made another excursion to the same place the next day, and brought back a number of corals, shells, and echini, which the natives had gathered for us on the sea-shore. We received presents of hogs and targets from different chiefs, who came on purpose to visit their old acquaintances, and would not sell or part with their goods, till they saw their friend for whom they were destined. The next day we took a walk up one of the hills, which is every where planted with bread-trees, pepper and mulberry-trees, yams and eddoes. The mulberry or cloth-trees were cultivated with particular attention; the ground between them was carefully weeded, and manured with broken decayed shells and coral, and the whole plantation surrounded with a deep furrow or channel, in order to drain it. In many places they had burnt away ferns and
various

various shrubs, in order to prepare the ground for future plantations. At a considerable height upon the hill we found a house, the inhabitants of which, an old woman and her daughter, hospitably entertained us. We gave them several beads and nails, and some red feathers, which last were rather accepted as a curiosity, than as things of great value. This opinion was general among the people at Huahine; they wanted hatchets in exchange for their hogs, and smaller iron tools for other provisions, and as we were well stocked with animals, we did not like their price, though it was the same which we had formerly given. Since red feathers have really no intrinsic value, and are only used for ornament, we have another convincing proof of the superior affluence and luxury of the Taheitians, in the great eagerness which they expressed to purchase them. The difference is obviously owing to the excellence of their country, compared to Huahine, where the ambient plain is so narrow and inconsiderable, that the natives are obliged to cultivate the hills.

Several bold thefts were committed, during the following days, by the natives, for which it was not in our power to obtain redress. Some other attempts however were punished. A party of petty officers were gone to take the diversion of shooting on a hill, and had a marine with them, who carried some hatchets and nails in a bag. A native who attended them, seeing that their fowling-pieces missed

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fire several times, took his opportunity, when the marine had laid down his bundle, to snatch it up, and ran off with it. The day after the gentlemen went to see a heiva or public dance, and luckily found the thief among the spectators. He confessed his misdemeanour, but promised, if they would pardon him, to bring them some targets in return, which were always reckoned equivalent to our hatchets. They were contented with his submission, and the man punctually kept his word the next day; which shews that he was by no means to be compared to our hardened sinners, but was fully sensible of the generous treatment which he had met with. Another attempted to steal a powder-horn, but he was detected, and requited by blows. Even the poor girl, who came on board at Taheitee, tempted them by wearing an European dress. A number of natives set upon her in a house, when she was least aware of it, and began to strip off her cloaths; when some of our people fortunately came by, who put the thieves to flight. This accident frightened her so much, that she never ventured out of the ship alone for the future.

Thursday 19.

On the 19th we took a walk towards the long inlet, where Dr. Sparrman had been robbed about eight months before. The weather was rainy at first, and the showers became so severe, that we retreated into a small hut, to prevent our being wetted to the skin. We found here a friendly family, who immediately offered us some fresh bread-

bread-fruit and some fishes to eat, that being always the first mark of hospitality among the inhabitants of the South Sea. An elderly woman, of some note, had likewise taken shelter under the same roof, with one of her attendants, who led a hog to her home. As we set out together, when the shower was over, the good woman presented the hog to us, and invited us to her house, which lay at a considerable distance. We crossed the hill, and descended to the sea shore on the opposite side of the island. Our way was extremely slippery; but we collected a number of plants which had novelty to recommend them. The weather changed before we reached the plain below, and became delightfully fair. We found a bay, with an extensive shoal of coral, and a small islet, where great flocks of wild-ducks, curlews, and snipes resided. We received several refreshments from the natives, which our friendly old lady endeavoured to procure. After we had amused ourselves for some time with shooting, we crossed the hills in another direction, and passing through a fine valley, well inhabited, and rich in all sorts of plantations, we came to the woman's dwelling on the sea shore. Here we found an old man, her husband, and a large family, some of whom were grown up. She treated us with stewed fowls, bread-fruit, and coco-nuts, and then sent us in her own canoe to the ship, which lay about five miles off by sea, but at least twice as far by land. There was a kind of assiduity to serve us

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in this good woman's behaviour, which I had not often experienced in those numerous instances of hospitality, daily obvious to the stranger in the South Sea islands. It is a most convincing proof of the excellence of the human heart, in its simple state, before ambition, luxury, and various other passions have corrupted it.

Friday 20.

We staid on board the next day till the afternoon, and then went ashore with captain Cook to a long house, which was a common receptacle, or carvanfera, for many families, who travelled thither in order to be near us. We found several inferior chiefs there; but Oree was gone to a different part of the island. After conversing with them for some time, several natives arrived, who brought an account that our first and second lieutenant, with one of the mates, had been stripped by several robbers. A great number of the inhabitants immediately fled, and all who remained expressed strong marks of fear. We could not collect with certainty, from the information of different people, whether our officers had been beaten or killed; the Tahitian word, *matte*, expressing both these ideas. We were however soon relieved from this state of suspense, by the appearance of the gentlemen, perfectly safe, with their arms and cloaths. They informed us, that having been shooting near the lagoons, they had been attacked unawares by some of the natives, who, upon their refusing to part with their fowling-pieces, had beaten them, and wrested those arms

out

out of their hands; that a chief happening to pass by during the struggle, had come to their assistance, and had effected the recovery of every article which had been taken from them. We returned on board together, and observed that the natives forsook the adjacent country. The next morning early, Mahine, who had slept on shore, brought a message from Oree to captain Cook, importing that there were thirteen offenders, whom he could not punish without the captain's assistance: he requested him therefore to send twenty-two armed men, which he expressed by the same number of small sticks, and promised to join them with some of his own warriors, who should go out to chastise the rebels. Captain Cook went on shore with Mahine, in order to be more fully assured of Oree's intention; but not understanding enough of the language, he received very little intelligence. As soon as he returned on board, he consulted with the officers; and, on this occasion, the second lieutenant ingenuously confessed that they themselves had been the aggressors, and had drawn upon them the severe revenge which the natives had taken. One of them having shot a couple of ducks in the lagoon, desired a native, who attended him, to fetch them out of the water. The man, who had repeatedly done him this good office before, refused to serve as a spaniel any longer. Our officer beat him, however, till he went in, and worked himself through the mud with great agility, in a motion between

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swimming and walking. When he had reached the ducks, which lay at a considerable distance from the shore, he swam off with them to the opposite side of the lagoon, perhaps conscious that he deserved them for the trouble he had taken. As this did not agree with the seaman's intentions, he loaded his musket with ball, and fired, but fortunately missed him. He was preparing to load again, when the croud about him, seeing the life of their countryman so wantonly sported with, seized his arms. He called to his companions for help, but they were likewise surrounded; and though one of them fired a load of shot into the thighs of a native, this only exasperated them the more; so that he was beaten and bruised without mercy. Mahine's attendant, or servant, a stout youth, of a very low stature, accompanied our gentlemen, and fought desperately in their favour, but was overpowered by numbers. After this confession, the case was greatly altered; however, the captain resolved to question Oree once more, and to that purpose desired my father to accompany him to the shore, being convinced that no person on board was at this time so well versed in the language of the country. They soon learnt from Oree, that he intended we should march to the dwellings of the natives who had thus done themselves justice, and who seemed to have withdrawn themselves even from his power; and that he wished to take all their goods and hogs, and give them to us. Captain Cook returned to the ship,

ship, and selected a party of forty-seven Europeans, including the officers, Dr. Sparrman, my father, and myself; not indeed to reduce the rebellious subjects of Oree to their duty, who had so much reason to complain of injustice from our people, but perhaps to shew that he did not entirely approve of their conduct. We landed, and marched with Oree and a few of the natives towards the district where the robbery was committed. In proportion as we advanced, the croud at our heels encreased in number to several hundreds, and took up arms in the neighbouring houses. Oree himself wielded a spear ten feet long, with a barbed tail of sting-ray at the point. We halted at the distance of about two miles, and were now acquainted by Mahine that the natives had formed the plan of surrounding and cutting us off. Oree was desirous to stay behind; but captain Cook persuaded him and a few other chiefs to go with us, whilst the rest of the croud were ordered to proceed no further, under pretence, that in case of an engagement, we should not be able to distinguish friends from foes. We marched about three miles to a place where the path divided; we chose that which led across a very steep rock, in preference to another at the foot of it. Steps were cut in the rock on the opposite side, where we descended again on the plain. This pass was so dangerous, that captain Cook proposed to leave a detachment of his petty army here; but seeing that the croud advanced slowly after him, in spite of Oree's orders,

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ders, he resolved to return, and declared to the natives that the enemy was too far off to be pursued. We came back to a spacious house, about halfway to the ship, where Oree regaled us with coco-nuts. Whilst we remained there, some of the natives brought several banana stalks, two dogs, and a pig. They presented them to the captain, holding a long speech on the occasion, which was mostly unintelligible, but seemed to relate to the affair that had brought us into the field. A large hog was shewn to us at the same time, but instead of being presented, it was led off again. From hence we reached the sea-shore opposite the ship about noon, and then fired our muskets in platoons over the sea. This manœuvre surprised the natives prodigiously, as it convinced them that we could keep up a constant fire, of which they had no idea before, and shewed them to what vast distances our balls could be projected. Thus ended our warlike expedition, to the wish of a few individuals amongst us, who had too great an affection for all their brethren, to desire their destruction. It was not so satisfactory to others, who, inured to the horrid scenes of war and bloodshed, had acquired, by force of habit, a detestable eagerness to try their skill in shooting at men, rather than at a mark !

We saw but few natives about the ship all the next afternoon ; some fruit was however exchanged for small nails. Our friends visited us the next morning, with many presents of different sorts. One of them, a chief, named Mo-

rurua,

rurua, had singled out my father as his friend, and came with his wife and family to see us. Several articles were distributed to them, in return for those which the chief had brought; but he thought our present so much more valuable than his, that he seemed quite enchanted, and his eyes with peculiar eloquence expressed a lively sense of gratitude. He returned therefore to us again the next morning, when we were getting under sail, and after loading us with new presents, dissolved in tears at parting.

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Monday 23.

We left the three friends of Mahine on this island, but had taken on board another native, who was sent from Oree with a message to O-Poonee, the king of Borabora. This ambassador appeared to be a very stupid fellow; we could not however dive into the secret of his mission, nor were any of us solicitous about it. His name was Hurree-hurree, which, in its English acceptation, seemed to be remarkably well chosen for a messenger.

The next day before noon we anchored in the entrance of Hamaneno harbour, on the island of Raietea, and spent the rest of the day, till after sun-set, in warping the ship into the basin. The chief O-Rea came on board, and seemed highly delighted with our return. The appearance of Mahine and Hurree doubtless strengthened his good opinion of us, and inspired all his people with confidence. We went on shore to his house with captain Cook the next morning, and were met by his wife and his daughter Poyadua. The wife

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wife cut her head with a shark's tooth, and received the blood on a bit of cloth ; and both wept and sobbed aloud together for some time. However when they had concluded this ceremony, they were as merry as if nothing had happened. We were confined to his house by heavy showers of rain till noon, when we returned to the ship, which was now brought into a narrow creek, where she lay close to the shore, for the convenience of watering.

We walked along this creek in the afternoon, as far as the intermittent showers would permit. The shore was lined with innumerable canoes, whilst every house and shed was crowded with people, many of whom were preparing large and luxurious dinners, from heaps of provisions which were every where accumulated. We were told that a peculiar society or order of persons of both sexes, named Arreoy, existed in these islands ; and that they assembled at times from all parts, and travelled through all the islands, feasting and carousing to excess. During the time we lay at Huahine, we had observed no less than seventy canoes, with more than seven hundred of these arreoyos on board, crossing over to Raietea in one morning. We were told that they had spent a few days on the east side of the island, and were arrived on its western shore only a day or two before us. We took notice that they were all persons of some consequence, and of the race of chiefs. Some of the men were punctured in large broad blotches ; and Mahine assured us,
these

these were the most eminent members of the society, and that the more they were covered with punctures, the higher was their rank. They were in general stout and well made, and all professed themselves warriors. Mahine had a very high veneration for this society, and told us he himself was a member. They are united by the ties of reciprocal friendship, and exercise hospitality towards each other in its greatest latitude. As soon as an arreo visits another, though he were unknown to him, he is sure to have his wants supplied, and his desires gratified; he is introduced to other members of the order, and they vie with each other in loading him with caresses and presents. It was to this principle that Mahine ascribed all the pleasures which he had enjoyed at Taheitee. The first people who saw him on board were arreoys according to his account, and in that quality made him a present of their garments, since he had no other than European cloaths. It appears, that one or more persons of each little family of chiefs enter into this community, of which the invariable and fundamental character is, that none of its members are permitted to have any children. From the accounts of the most intelligent among the natives, we have great room to suppose, that the original institution required their living in perpetual celibacy. As this law was too repugnant to the impulses of nature, which must be uncommonly strong in their climate, they soon transgressed it; but preserved the intention of the

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prescribed abstinence, by suffocating their unfortunate offspring immediately after birth.

The arreoys enjoy several privileges, and are greatly respected throughout the Society Islands and Taheitee; nay, they claim a great share of honour from the very circumstance of being childless. Tupaya, when he heard that the king of England had a numerous offspring, declared he thought himself much greater, because he belonged to the arreoys*. In most other countries the name of a parent gives honour and respect; but when an arreoym, at Taheitee, emphatically bestows it, it is meant as a term of contempt and reproach. The arreoys keep great meetings at stated times, travelling from one island to another. They feast on the choicest vegetables, and on plenty of pork, dog's flesh, fish, and poultry, which is liberally furnished by the towtoys, or lower class, for their entertainment. The pepper-root drink is prepared and swallowed in surprising quantities on these occasions. Wherever they go, the train of sensual pleasure waits upon them. They are amused with music and dances, which are said to be particularly lascivious at night, when no other spectators besides themselves are admitted.

In a country so far emerged from barbarism as Taheitee, it cannot be supposed that a society would have maintained

* This anecdote I have heard from captain Cook in conversation.

itself to the present time, which appears so injurious to the rest of the nation, unless its advantages were so considerable, as to require its continuance. Two reasons seem to favour the existence of *arreoy*s, and both are in some measure connected together. The first appears to be the necessity of entertaining a body of warriors, to defend their fellow-citizens from the invasions and depredations of enemies. This is confirmed by the circumstance, that all the *arreoy*s are warriors; but as love might be supposed to enervate them, they were restrained to that celibacy, which they have since found it too difficult to observe. The second reason for the association of the *arreoy*s, seems to be to prevent the too rapid propagation of the race of chiefs. An intelligent man, who perhaps was once the law-giver of *Taheitee*, might foresee, that the common people would at length groan under the yoke of this numerous and ever-multiplying breed of petty-tyrants*. To oblige a part of them to a single life, was the shortest means of obtaining this end; but certain glaring advantages were to be held out, to make them submit without reluctance to such a restraint. From hence we may derive that high esteem with which the whole nation honours the order of *arreoy*; and likewise account for their authority, and for their gluttony in eating, which has been the privilege of warriors in every country,

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* See vol. I. p. 367.

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before they became the tools of tyranny. When the arreoys had once so far departed from the laws of their first institution, as to admit the commerce with the sex, it is easy to conceive, that, by insensible degrees, they have almost wholly lost the original chaste and sober spirit of the order. They are at present, without doubt, the most luxurious set of people in the island; though I have not found the least reason to charge them with a refinement in voluptuousness, which is at once improbable, and inconsistent with the tenderness of the whole people. We have been told a wanton tale of promiscuous embraces, where every woman is common to every man: but when we enquired for a confirmation of this story from the natives, we were soon convinced that it must, like many others, be considered as the groundless invention of a traveller's gay fancy.

Some arreoys are married to a woman, in the same manner as Mahine was to the daughter of Toperrec*; but others keep a temporary mistress. Many may perhaps revel in the arms of several prostitutes, which are to be met with in all the islands. This dissolute pleasure is however much more frequent in every civilized country of Europe; but I apprehend it would not authorize an assertion, that in Europe there exists a society of men and women, who prac-

* See page 89.

tise a particular refinement of sensuality*. When we consider the whole character of the Taheitians ; when we recollect their gentleness, their generosity, their affectionate friendship, their tenderness, their pity, we cannot reconcile these qualities to the murder of their own offspring. We shudder at the stern inhumanity of the father, but much more so at the obdurate heart of the mother, where the voice of nature, and of powerful instinct, should cry aloud for mercy and protection. The paths of virtue are but too easily forsaken ; still we are at a loss to conceive, how a people so much left to nature, could arrive at such a detestable pitch of depravity : but custom,

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That monster custom, who all sense doth eat
Of habits evil—————

SHAKESPEARE.

gradually blunts every feeling, and overcomes the stings of remorse. We had no sooner learnt that such an unnatural and barbarous practice stigmatized the society of arreo, than we reprehended our young friend Mahine for valuing himself on being a member of such a detestable body. We endeavoured to point out the immorality and cruelty of this practice, and made use of every argument which our reflections could furnish, or our words express. We easily succeeded in convincing him, and obtained a promise that he would not kill his children, but separate from the so-

* See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p. 207, &c.

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ciety as soon as he should receive the glorious name of father. To our great satisfaction he assured us, that the instances of arreoys having children were extremely rare. It seems that they choose their wives and mistresses among the prostitutes ; and from this circumstance, as well as from their great voluptuousness, they have seldom reason to dread the intrusion of an unfortunate infant. The answers of O-Mai, whom I consulted on this subject after my return to England, gave me still greater pleasure, as they softened the transgression at least of one part, and entirely freed the bulk of the nation from that share of guilt, which the simple acquiescence in such a heinous crime might throw upon them. He assured me, that the invariable laws of the community of arroy required the extinction of their offspring ; that the pre-eminence and advantages which a man enjoyed as arroy were so valuable, as to urge him on against his own feelings ; that the mother was never willing to consent to the horrid murder, but that her husband and other arreoys persuaded her to yield up the child ; and that when entreaties were not sufficient, force was sometimes employed. But above all, he added, that this act was always performed in secret, and so that none of the people, not even the tow-tows or attendants of the house, were present ; because, if it were seen, the murderers must be put to death. This being the case, we may comfort ourselves with the reflection, that criminal individuals are not more numerous
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in the Society Islands, than among other people; and that the votaries of vice have no reason to triumph, in supposing a whole nation accustomed to commit unnatural murders, without a sense of wrong *.

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The arreoyoys were no less hospitable than luxurious, and it was not for want of invitation that we did not partake of their refreshments. We rambled in the country till sunset, and then returned to the ship, which Mahine, the woman, and the other Indian passengers had now left. The next morning a great number of natives came to the ship in their canoes, among whom were many women, who remained with the sailors. At Huahine the commerce of this kind had been very inconsiderable, and chiefly confined to women who were only on a visit to that island; it was therefore resumed here with the greatest eagerness by our crew. We passed the day on an excursion to the northward, where we shot several wild ducks, and met with a hospitable reception in different cottages.

Thursday 26.

The next was a fine day, delightfully tempered by a strong easterly gale. We received the visits of Orea and all

* Depravity is much more at home in our polished climate, and I must here mention an instance which stains society with indelible dishonour. In the metropolis of England there are wretches, who publicly declare their skill, and offer their services, to procure abortion. (See an advertisement to that effect in a public paper, No. 1322, for Wednesday, January 15, 1777.) They are suffered with impunity to make a trade of destroying human beings in the womb. Such is the salutary consequence of lenity towards the murderers of innocent babes!

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his family, of Boba, the viceroy of the island of O-Tahà, and of Teïna, the fair dancing-woman, whose picture Mr. Hodges had formerly attempted to draw *. Boba was a tall, handsome young man, a native of Borabora, related to Poonce, the king of that island, and conqueror of Raietea and Tahà. Mahine has frequently told us, that he is destined to be the successor of O-Poone, whose only daughter Maïwherua, said to be a young beautiful princess, twelve years old, he is to marry. Boba was at present an arceoy, and kept the lively Teïna as his mistress, who was with child in consequence. We entered into conversation with her on the custom of killing the offspring of an arceoy. The short dialogue which passed between us was couched in the most simple expressions, because we had not sufficient knowledge of the language to discourse of abstract ideas. For the same reason all our rhetoric was exhausted in a few moments, and had no other effect, than to draw the following concession from Teïna-maï: "that our eatua (deity) in England might perhaps be offended by the practice of the arceoy; but that her's was not displeased with it. She promised, however, if we would come from England to fetch her child, she might perhaps keep it alive, provided we gave her a hatchet, a shirt, and some red feathers." This was said in such a laughing tone, that we

* See vol. I. p. 402. and the plate in captain Cook's account of this voyage, which is engraved from Mr. Hodges's drawing.

had

had not the least room to believe her in earnest. It was in vain to attempt to continue the conversation, since a variety of objects diverted her attention: it was a wonder indeed that she had lent an ear to our questions so long.

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In the afternoon we went ashore, to see a dramatic dance performed by Orea's daughter Poyadua, and found a great number of inhabitants assembled at the play-house; this diversion being admired by all ranks of the people. Poyadua displayed her agility as usual, and received great applause from the European spectators. The interludes performed by the men were something different from those we had seen before. We could plainly understand the name of captain Cook, and of several of our shipmates, mentioned in their songs, and they seemed to represent a theft committed by their people. Another of the interludes was the invasion of the Borabora men, which they expressed by beating one another with a thong or whip, which made a very loud smack. But still another was more curious than all the rest: it represented a woman in labour, and provoked immoderate peals of laughter from the multitude. The man who acted this part went through the gestures, which the Greeks were wont to admire in the groves of Venus-Ariadne, near Amathus, where the same ceremony was acted on the second day of the month Gorpiceus, in memory of Ariadne, who died in child-bed *. Thus it ap-

* Vide Plutarch, in Theseo.

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pears, that there is scarcely a practice, though ever so ridiculous, existing in any corner of the world, that has not been hit upon by the extravagant fancy of men in some other region. A tall stout fellow, dressed in cloth, personated the new-born infant in such a ludicrous style, that we could not refuse joining in the plaudits which his countrymen bestowed upon him. Anatomists and midwives would have been surprised to observe, that this overgrown babe had every necessary character of a child newly born; but the natives were particularly delighted with his running about the stage, whilst the rest of the dancers endeavoured to catch him. The ladies were much pleased with this scene, which, according to the simplicity of their ideas, had not the least indecency; they looked on, therefore, unconcernedly, and were not obliged, like some European dames, to peep through their fans.

Saturday 28.

The next morning we travelled along the shore to the southward, and met with a very fertile country, and hospitable people. We came early to a large building of stone, which was called Marai no Parua, Parua's burying-place. I have already mentioned that this name was likewise given to Tupaya, who went in the Endeavour; but I am doubtful whether the burying-place relates to Tupaya, since it generally bears the appellation of some living chief. Indeed it is not improbable that another Parua might be alive on the island, after whom the marai was named, especially

pecially as all the natives in the neighbourhood strenuously asserted, that this Parua was an aree, which was not always allowed of Tupaya. This monument was sixty yards long, and five wide; the walls were made of large stones, and about six or eight feet high. We climbed over, and found the space within covered with a heap of small coral stones.

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From thence we walked on several miles, till we arrived at a spacious bay, where three little islands lie within the reef. The country round this bay was swampy, and well stocked with ducks. Here we passed some time in shooting, and then embarked in two small canoes, and were safely landed at one of the little islands. We found a few coco palms and shrubs, but no fruit-trees upon it; and there was only a single fisherman's hut, containing some nets, and other fishing-tackle. We returned very soon to the main shore, having found no shells, though the hope of meeting with some had principally induced us to cross the water. We dined with a native who had invited us, and returned to the ship in a canoe about sun-set. The chief Orea had dined on board with captain Cook during our absence, and had drank about a bottle of wine, without appearing in the least intoxicated. He had however, as usual, been extremely facetious, and had conversed chiefly of the countries which we had lately visited, and of which he had received an account from his countryman Mahine. After being satisfied in regard to many particulars, he said, that

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though we had seen a great deal, he would tell us of an island which we had not met with in our voyages. "It lies," said he, "but a few days sail from hence, but it is inhabited by a monstrous race of giants, as tall as the main-mast, and as thick about the middle as the drum-head of the capstan. They are very good-natured people, but if they are ever incensed against any body, they take him up, and throw him as far into the sea as I would throw a stone: If you should happen to come there with your ship, they would perhaps wade up to it, and carry it ashore on their backs." He added several other ludicrous circumstances, and concluded with telling us the name of the island, Mirro-mirro, in order to give greater weight to his assertion. It appeared evidently to us, that his whole story was a fine piece of irony, directed against those parts of our narrative which he did not believe, and of which he could have no conception. We admired the witty humour which was so conspicuous in this little flight of fancy, and with M. de Bougainville looked up to its great source, the affluence of the country, which produces contentment and pleasure *.

Sunday 29.

During the next night some of the natives stole the rudders, grapnels, and boat-hooks belonging to our boats, which were fastened to the buoy. As soon as this theft was discovered in the morning, the captain acquainted Orea

* See his Voyage round the World, English ed. p. 257.

with

with it, who immediately embarked with him in a boat, and rowed several miles to the southward. In about an hour's time they landed, and almost all the stolen articles being returned to our people, they came back to the ship entirely satisfied. I had been on shore in the creek during this time, and saw a heeva, or dance, performed by two little girls; but their dress was not so grand, and their action much inferior to that of Poyadua. The tamow, or head-dress of plaited hair, was not laid like a turban, but formed several large locks, which had a pretty effect, and resembled in some measure the high heads of our modern ladies.

In the afternoon Poyadua performed a dance; and as if she meant to outshine the other actresses, she had ornamented her dress more than usual, and wore a great quantity of various sorts of European beads. Her wonderful agility, the graceful motion of her arms, and the quick vibration of her fingers, were as much admired there by the natives, as we applauded them in our dancers; and since all these accomplishments are taught in the South Sea islands by nature only, it must be confessed that Poyadua deserved the encomiums which all the spectators bestowed upon her. The inhabitants were particularly delighted with the extraordinary contortions into which she screwed her mouth; though we were so little of their mind, that we could not help thinking them horridly frightful.

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The meeting of the arceos gave rise to these frequent dramatic entertainments; their presence seemed to enliven the whole country, and to inspire all the people with extraordinary cheerfulness. They frequently shifted their garments, made of their best kinds of cloth; they passed their time in luxurious idleness, perfuming their hair with fragrant oils, singing and playing on the flute, and passing from one entertainment to another; in short, they enjoyed the blessings of their islands in the utmost extent; and so much resembled the happy indolent people whom Ulysses found in Phæacia, that they could apply the poet's lines to themselves with peculiar propriety:

To dress, to dance, to sing, our sole delight,
The feast or bath by day, and love by night. POPE'S HOMER.

Our friend Mahine was perhaps the only person among the nobility who did not enjoy that great degree of happiness which so visibly reigned among the rest. He was not received with those distinguishing marks of favour which had been lavished upon him at Taheitee; for it seems, even in the South Seas, a man is no where less esteemed than in his own country. All his relations, who were extremely numerous, expected presents as their due; whilst at Taheitee his liberality made him friends, and procured him great advantages. As long as the generous youth had some of those riches left, which he had collected at the
peril

peril of his life, on our dangerous and dismal cruize, he was perpetually importuned to share them out; and though he freely distributed all he had, some of his acquaintances complained that he was niggardly. He was soon reduced to beg a supply of European wares from his friends on board, having only saved a few red feathers, and some other curiosities, as a present for O-Poonee, the king of Borabora, to whom he was related. Under these disagreeable circumstances, he longed to return to Taheitee, and told us he was resolved to settle there, as soon as he should have visited Poonee, and his other relations at Borabora. He would willingly have embarked with us again for England, if we had given him the least hope of returning to the South Sea; but captain Cook having told him, that no ship would ever be sent to his islands again, he deprived himself of the pleasure of seeing our country, rather than part for ever from his native groves. When we reflect on the fate of his countryman, O-Mai, we have some reason to think this determination fortunate for his heart and morals. The splendour of England remains unknown to him; but at the same time he has no idea of those enormities which disgrace the opulent capitals of the world.

After the dance was over, Mahine invited us to the district in which his lands were situated. He had frequently told us, that he had possessions in this island; but as some of our people had doubted of his veracity, he was glad to
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take an opportunity of justifying himself. The next morning therefore, at day break, we set off in two boats, and taking on board Orea and all his family, we arrived, after two hours sail, at Wharai-te-Vah, a district at the north-east end of the island. We were welcomed by Mahine and two of his elder brothers, and conducted to a spacious house. A fire was immediately made in a hole in the ground, and some large stones heated. With the same preparations, which are already described by captain Cook in his former voyage *, a large hog was killed, cleaned, wrapped in fresh leaves, and put into the hole or oven, and covered with hot stones and a heap of earth. Whilst it continued to be stewed there, with a quantity of fruit, my father, with Dr. Sparrman and myself, went up the neighbouring hills, where we found nothing new, though we were at least seven or eight miles from our ship. After a walk of two hours we returned, and in a short time our dinner was served up on green leaves. The fat of the entrails, together with the blood, had been wrapped up separately in a few leaves, and the fattest chiefs and arreoys in company immediately seized upon, and swallowed them by handfuls. The rest dined with an uncommon degree of voracity; whilst a great croud of tow-tows, with their greedy looks, devoured the feast, of which they did not taste

* See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p. 152.

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a single morsel. Some share of the pork was given to Orea's wife and daughter, who carefully wrapped it up, in order to eat it apart. Thus it seems, that though the hog was wholly dressed, prepared, and distributed by men, yet this did not make it improper for the women to partake of it. At other times, it appears, that different persons cannot eat what has been touched by one or other of the same family*; we are therefore unable to conceive by what rule their custom of eating separately is conducted. The Tahitians are not the only people who do not eat with their women; several nations of negroes, and even the natives of Labrador, have adopted the same idea. From the general conduct of these African and Eskimaux tribes, an unnatural contempt for the sex appears to be their motive for this unfociable custom. But as the Tahitian women are very kindly treated, and highly esteemed by the men, the custom must have some other origin among them, which a connected series of accurate observations may perhaps in time lead us to discover.

The captain had taken with him a few bottles of brandy, which, mixed with water, makes the favourite liquor of sailors, called grog. The arreoys and some other chiefs, finding it strong, and almost as nauseous as their pepper-root drink, drank very freely of it, and afterwards took

* See Hawkesworth, vol. II.

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some small cups of pure brandy, which they relished so well, and repeated so often, that they were soon obliged to lie down to sleep. We returned to the ship about five o'clock in the afternoon; and the day being remarkably warm, we went ashore to bathe in a beautiful fountain, which we had constantly made use of for that purpose during our stay. A fragrant shrubbery hung round it, screening from the sun the water, which was temperately cool, and perfectly limpid. We found the use of this bath extremely refreshing; and the natives had probably experienced the same effect, as they constantly resorted to it every morning and evening. Such pleasing spots are frequent in these islands; they contribute greatly to their embellishment, and without doubt, are instrumental in preserving the health of the inhabitants.

We passed the next days in various excursions towards the hills, where we collected a few plants, which we had not met with before. These hills exactly resembled those of Taheitee, but were somewhat lower. We found a romantic valley between them, surrounded by a forest of various trees and shrubs, and furnished with a beautiful rivulet, which fell in many cascades over broken rocks and precipices.

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Thursday 2.

On our returning from our last walk, we received a very interesting piece of intelligence from the natives. One of them, just arrived from the island Huahine, told us that

two

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two ships lay at anchor there, one of them considerably larger than ours, but the other about the same size. Captain Cook called the man into his cabin, where he repeated the same story to us, and confirmed it, by asserting that he had been on board the lesser ship, and had been made drunk there. We enquired for the names of the captains, and he told us that of the greater ship was Tabane, and the other Tonno. These were the names by which the natives designed Mr. Banks and captain Furneaux. Captain Cook was therefore surprised to hear them named, and enquired of what stature these persons were. The native very readily told us, that the one whom he called Tabane was a tall man, but the other considerably less. This answer corresponded extremely well with truth; but as it was very improbable that captain Furneaux would remain at Huahine, after hearing that his senior officer lay so near him, we concluded that the ships must belong to some other nation. At our return to the Cape of Good Hope, we heard that captain Furneaux had sailed from that settlement long before the time when he was supposed to be at Huahine, and that Mr. Banks had not left Europe. We have since learnt that M. St. Denis, a French navigator, has been in the South Seas at the time in question with two ships.

The chief, O-Rea, at first confirmed this news, but afterwards suspecting that it might hasten our departure, he

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was unwilling to give his opinion, and seeming to doubt of the truth of the report, always abruptly changed the subject of conversation, with all the art of an European politician.

Friday 3.

The next day the natives came in great numbers to the ship with abundance of provisions, which they sold very cheap, as captain Cook proposed to sail the next day. His store of hatchets and knives had been expended long ago; our armourer was therefore set to work to make new ones, which were ill-shapen, and of very little worth, particularly the knives, which were made of pieces of iron hoops. The natives were contented with them, not knowing how to distinguish the good from the bad by the eye. They sometimes picked our pockets, or stole what we did not sufficiently look after; but their simplicity now gave room for a severe retaliation.

Among the natives of the Society Islands there are a few men who preserve the national traditions, together with all their ideas of mythology and astronomy. Mahine, whilst we were at sea, had frequently spoken of them as the most learned of his countrymen, and named them Tata-o-Rerro, which we would express by *teachers*. After much enquiry, we found a chief, named Tootavai, in the district of Hamaneno, who was distinguished by this epithet. As our departure was so near at hand, we regretted that we had not known.

known him sooner; but my father determined to employ his remaining time in making enquiries on a subject so interesting as the history of religious opinions.

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Tootavai was pleased with an opportunity of displaying his knowledge; he was flattered with the attention which we paid to his words, and therefore continued to converse on the same subject with much greater patience and perseverance, than we could have expected from a lively inhabitant of these islands. The religion of the islanders appears to be as singular a system of polytheism as ever was invented. Few nations are so wretched, and so wholly occupied with the means of preserving their existence, as to lay aside all ideas of a creator. These ideas rather seem to have remained traditionally among mankind, ever since the first ages, when the Deity revealed himself. Agreeably to this opinion, the people of Taheitee and the Society Islands have preserved this spark of divine instruction, and believe the existence of a Supreme Being, the maker and progenitor of all things, visible and invisible. It has been the fate of most nations to investigate more or less the qualities of this universal and incomprehensible spirit, and to adopt absurdities, by overstepping the bounds prescribed by the Creator himself to our senses and mental faculties. The different attributes of the Deity were soon personified by narrow minds, which could not contain the vast idea of
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supreme perfection. Gods and goddeses then became innumerable, and one error still gave birth to many more. Man, in the course of education, received from his father the knowledge of a God; and a spontaneous principle within him cherished this idea. Population encreased, the distinctions of ranks took place, and proportionately influenced the gratification of the senses. In every society, some individual or other took advantage of the general propensity to adore, endeavoured to captivate the judgment of the multitude, and by misrepresenting and separating the qualities of the Almighty, converted the filial affection of mankind towards their benefactor into a jealous dread of his anger. At the Society Islands I apprehend this to be the case: they adore divinities of all sorts and qualities; but what is most singular, every island has a separate theogony. This will appear more clearly by comparing the following account with the observations on their religion in captain Cook's first voyage *. Tootavai began with telling us, that in every island of this group, they gave the supreme God, creator of earth and skies, a different name; or, to express it more clearly, that in every island they believe a different deity, though always one of those which are known to them all, to hold the first rank. Thus at Tahitee and Eimeo, they say the Supreme Being is O-Rooa-

* See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p. 237, &c.

hattoo;

hattoo ; at Huahine they maintain that it is Tanè ; at Raietea, O-Roò ; at O-Tahà, Orra ; at Bolabola, Taoòtoo ; at Mowrua, O-Too ; and at Tabbooa-mannoo (Sir Charles Saunders's Island) Taròä. Thirteen divinities preside over the sea, and govern it ; viz. 1. Ooroohàddoo. 2. Tama-ooee-3. Ta-apèe. 4. O-Tooareeònoo. 5. Tanèea. 6. Tahou-meòna. 7. Otà-mauwe. 8. O-Whaï. 9. O-Whàtta. 10. Tahòoa. 11. Te ootya. 12. O Mahooroo. 13. O-Whàddoo. But notwithstanding all these governors, a different divinity, Oo-marrèò, is said to have created the sea. The same case exists with regard to the sun, which was created by O-Maùwee, a powerful god, who causes earthquakes. The divinity which resides in, and governs the sun, is called Tootòomo-hororèree. They have ventured to attribute to this deity a beautiful human form, whose hair descends down to his feet. They assert, that the deceased go thither to dwell with him, and are continually feasted there with bread-fruit and pork, which need no preparation from the fire. They believe every man to have a separate being within him, named Tec, which acts in consequence of the impression of the senses, and combines ideas into thoughts *. This being, which we would call the soul, exists after death, and lodges in the wooden images, which are placed round the burying-places, and

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* The natives call thoughts *parou no te oboo*, which literally signify *words in the belly*.

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which are called by the same name, tee. Thus the belief of a future existence, and that of the combination of matter and spirit, have reached the remotest islands of the earth. Whether they have any idea of rewards and punishments in a future state, we could not learn; but it is most reasonable to suppose that such ideas have occurred to a nation so far advanced as the Tahitians. The moon was created by a female divinity, named O-Heenna, who likewise governs that planet, and resides in its black spot or cloud. The women sing a short couplet, which seems to be an act of adoration paid to that divinity, perhaps because they suppose her to have some influence upon their physical œconomy.

Te-Oòwa no te Målama,
Te-òowa te heenàrro.

The cloud within the moon,
That cloud I love! ———

We may venture to suppose, that the Tahitian goddess of the moon is not the chaste Diana of the ancients, but rather the Phœnician Astarte. The stars were created by a goddess called Tettoo-mataròu, and the winds are governed by the god Orree-òrree.

Besides these greater divinities, they have a considerable number of inferior orders, some of whom are said to be mischievous, and to kill men in their sleep. They are worshipped publicly at the principal maraïs, or monuments
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of stone, by the Tahowa-rahai, or high-priest of the island. The beneficent gods are addressed in prayers, which are not pronounced aloud, but are distinguished and made known only by the motion of the lips. The priest looks up to the skies, and the eatua, or god, is supposed to come down and hold converse with him, unseen by all the people, and heard by none but the priest himself. Surely this is an evident mark of the influence of priestcraft, whose great aim is ever to veil religion in mystery. From a principle directly opposite to this, the Christian doctrine derives one of those incontestible characters of a divine origin, which distinguish it from all the deceitful inventions of human understanding, and carry persuasion to the mind. This religion does not wear the mysterious cloak, which can only serve to cover darkness, but appears to us divested of all kinds of trappings, and throws a pure and steady light around. It admits of no mystery, and its true and venerable ministers have at all times assured and convinced us, that they reserved no private knowledge for themselves, which was not communicated to the meanest of those who bow the knee to their pure and divine Creator; "for all shall know him, from the least to the greatest." Hebr. viii. 11.

Offerings are made to the gods, of hogs and poultry roasted, and of all kinds of eatables; but the inferior, and particularly the malevolent spirits, are only revered by a kind of hissing. Some of these spirits are said to come into the houses of the

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natives at night, and to kill them; others are said to inhabit a certain deserted island named Mannua, where they are visible in the shape of strong, tall men, with fiery eyes, and devour those who happen to approach their coast: but this rather alludes to the anthropophagy, which, as I have before observed, seems to have existed at these islands, previous to their present state of civilization. A number of plants are particularly sacred to the deities. The casuarina, the coco-palm, and the banana, are frequently planted near marais, or public places of worship. A species of *cratava*, a sort of pepper, the *hibiscus populneus*, the *dracæna terminalis*, and the *calophyllum*, are all found in the same places, and are alike considered as signs of peace and friendship. Some birds, such as a species of heron, king's-fisher, and cuckoo, are also consecrated to the deity; but I have already mentioned, that they are not held in equal veneration by all the people; and it is also to be observed, that different islands protect different birds.

The priests of these islands continue in office during their life, and their dignity is hereditary. The high-priest of every island is always an alee, who has the highest rank after the king. They are consulted upon many important occasions, partake largely of the good things of the country, and in short have found means to make themselves necessary. Besides the priests, there is also in every district one or two teachers, or tata-o-rerro, like Tootavai, who are skilled in theogony.

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theogony and cosmogony, and at certain times instruct the people in these things. The same persons likewise preserve the knowledge of geography, together with their ideas of astronomy and the division of time. They have the names of fourteen lunar months, in the following order :
 1. O-Pororo-moàa. 2. O-Pororo-mooree. 3. Moorehàh.
 4. Oohee-eiya. 5. O-Whirre-ammà. 6. Taòwa. 7. O-Whirre-erre-erre. 8. O-Tearree. 9. Ote-tàï. 10. Wàrehoo.
 11. Wàhou. 12. Pippirree. 13. E-Oonoònoo. 14. Oo-mannoo. The first seven months collectively are called Ooroo, or a bread-fruit season ; but in what manner they arrange these months, in order to effect a complete cycle or a year, is a mystery to us at present. It should seem that some of the months, especially the second and seventh, are intercalary, from the resemblance of their names to those of the first and fifth, and that they are inserted in different years. Each of the lunations consists of twenty-nine days. During the two last days of the lunation, they say the moon is dead, because it does not appear ; it is therefore plain that they begin to count from the moon's first appearance, and not from the real time of the conjunction. The twenty-fifth day of the thirteenth moon, E-Ooonoo, was our third of June, when we obtained this information.

The name of tahowa, which the Tahitians apply to priests, is not entirely confined to them, but is also given to those persons who know the virtues of a few plants,

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which are used as remedies against different disorders. Their medicines are few, and very simple, but their diseases are not manifold and complicated.

As soon as we had obtained these accounts from Tootavai, the ship unmoored, on the fourth of June, about ten in the morning. The king of Raietea, Oo-ooroo, to whom the conqueror O-Poonce had left the title and honour of royalty, visited us with some of his relations, just before our departure. O-Rea with his family was likewise on board, and Mahine with his relations came to take their leave. The parting scene was extremely affecting; all our friends shed tears plentifully, but poor Mahine's heart seemed torn to pieces by the violence of his grief. He ran from cabin to cabin, and embraced every one of us, without being able to speak a single word. His tears, his sighs and looks were eloquent beyond description. At last the ship set sail; he got into his canoe, and continued standing upright, whilst all his countrymen were seated. He looked at us, then hung down his head, and hid it in his garments. When we had cleared the reefs, we still perceived him to wave his extended arms; and he continued his addresses till we could no longer discern him.

Thus we left an amiable nation, who, with all their imperfections, are perhaps more innocent and pure of heart, than those who are more refined and better instructed. Without quoting the example of Mahine, we have often
been

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been witnesses to reciprocal acts of kindness, which convinced us, that the social virtues are frequently exercised amongst themselves. I have seen a single bread-fruit, or a few coco-nuts shared between a number of people, so that every one partook of them. I have observed them parting with their cloaths, and doing several charitable actions to each other, with the same good-will which they expressed towards us. We should indeed be ungrateful, if we did not acknowledge the kindness with which they always treated us; they were ready to carry us on their backs in and out of our boats, to prevent the surf from wetting our feet; they often loaded themselves with the curiosities which we had purchased; and rarely refused to go into the water in quest of any bird which we had shot. If the rain caught us on our excursions, or the heat of the sun and the fatigue of the journey oppressed us, we were invited to repose in their dwellings, and feasted on their best provisions; our friendly host stood at a distance, and never tasted any thing till we entreated him; whilst some of the family were employed in fanning us with a leaf, or the bough of a tree. Before we left the house we were commonly adopted, according to our different ages, in the quality of fathers, brothers, or sons. This circumstance was owing to an opinion that we were all related. The chiefs in all the Society Islands are descended from the same family; our officers, therefore, and all those who dined or messed together,

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gether, were by them considered as relations. They supposed that captain Cook and my father were brothers, purely from this reason ; for, with all their good heart, they are but indifferent physiognomists. Their hospitality towards us was frequently quite disinterested; and gave us a right to form the most flattering conclusions in regard to their conduct towards each other. They are hospitable without seeming to know it ; and leave to strangers who visit them, the pleasing and grateful task of recording their virtues.

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C H A P. VIII.

Run from the Society to the Friendly Islands.

WE fired a salute of several guns on leaving the island of Raiatea, in honour of his majesty's birth day; Saturday 4. and this discharge of our artillery afforded no small entertainment to the inhabitants. During the six weeks which we had spent at Taheitee and the Society Islands, we had been well refreshed, and were perfectly recovered from our bilious and scorbutic complaints: a venereal disorder was, however, the reward of those, that

——with unbashful forehead, woo'd

The means of sickness and debility.

SHAKESPEARE.

Nearly one half of our crew were afflicted with this nauseous and shameful disease; though it was in general less virulent than in Europe. Our conversations with Mahine on its ravages, gave us the greatest reason to be convinced, that it existed at Taheitee and the Society Islands previous to captain Wallis's voyage in 1768. Mahine frequently assured us, that several years before that period, his mother died of this disease at Borabora. Its appearance has therefore been attributed to a wrong cause in various parts.

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parts of the world. For the space of near three centuries the Spaniards have been accused by physicians, and detested by moralists, for bringing the infection from America, which is now incontrovertibly proved to have begun in Europe, previous to the discovery of America *. The English and French navigators have charged each other with the introduction of this detestable disorder among the harmless and hospitable Tahitians; though they have long been acquainted with it, and are not ignorant of the art of curing it †. Nay, it seems that their simple diet, the salubrity of their climate, and a long space of time, have abated the acrimony of the *virus*, and brought it to that inactive state to which it is now reduced in South America. I am far from supposing, that the venereal complaint has been carried to America from Europe; no, the same causes which could give birth to it in one part of the world, are sufficient to produce it every where else. The commerce of our crews with the women of Tonga Tabboo, and the Marquesas; nay, their remarkable connections with the falacious females of Easter Island, had no sinister consequences. It may be inferred from thence, that the infection has not yet broke out at those islands, though such inferences are sometimes

* See Petr. Martyr. ab Angleria Decad. American.—Dissertation sur l'Origine de la Maladie Venerienne, par M. Sanchez. Paris, 1752.—Examen historique sur l'Apparition de la Maladie Venerienne en Europe. Lisbonne, 1774.—Dr. Hunter, in the Phil. Transf. and others.

† See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p. 233.

fallacious*; for captain Wallis left Taheitee without having a single venereal patient, though the distemper is now proved to have existed there before his arrival. It is also beyond a doubt, that the New Zealanders† were afflicted with this disorder before any Europeans had an intercourse with them.

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We passed the island of Mowrua in the afternoon, and stood to the westward with a favourable trade-wind. On the 6th, at eleven in the morning, we descried an island, which captain Wallis named after lord Howe. It is very low, consisting of coral ledges, which enclose a lagoon; and by its direction, it appears to be the same which the natives of the Society Islands call Mopeehàh. We found it situated in $16^{\circ} 46'$ S. lat. and $154^{\circ} 8'$ W. Several birds, called boobies, were seen in the neighbourhood of this little isle, which was to appearance uninhabited.

The next day at noon the wind shifted, and became contrary. During the whole afternoon it thundered and lightened, and we had several smart showers. The night was calm; but we fixed the electric chain at the mast-head, on account of the strong lightning which still continued. We had so faint a breeze, with intervening calms, during the next three days, that we made but slow advances. Tropic-birds and noddies visited us during this time; and

Tuesday 7.

* See vol. I. p. 369.

† Ibid. p. 239.

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our crew had the mortification of losing a great shark, after they had hooked and shot him with three bullets.

On the 11th, in the morning, the wind freshened again, and pushed us on to the W. S. W. for two days, at the expiration of which we had calms and foul winds to cope with, and saw frequent flashes of lightning at night. Sea-fowl of different sorts, and fishes, such as bonitos, dolphins, sharks, and grampusses, appeared about us at different times.

Thursday 16.

On the 16th, in the morning, at eight o'clock, we discovered another low island. We were close to it about three in the afternoon, and sailed round it, without finding a landing place or harbour. It consisted of eight different isles, connected by reefs, and covered with trees, particularly coco-palms, which made it look remarkably pleasant. Vast flocks of aquatic birds appeared about it, from whence we concluded, that it was likewise uninhabited. In some parts there were extensive sandy beaches, where turtles probably resort to lay their eggs. The sea was also full of good fish, of different sorts, about us. This pretty little spot was named Palmerston Island, and lies in $18^{\circ} 4' \text{ S. lat.}$ and $163^{\circ} 10' \text{ W.}$

Monday 20.

We continued steering to the W. S. W. till the 20th, when we saw an island in the afternoon, of some elevation, on which, before sunset, we could discern the trees. We tacked all night to windward, and at the return of daylight

light flood towards it. Having approached within about two miles, we ran along the shore, which now appeared steep and rocky, with here and there a narrow sandy beach at the foot of the rock. It was nearly level every where, and its greatest height seemed not to exceed forty feet; but it was covered with woods and shrubberies along the summit. About ten o'clock, we perceived seven or eight people running close to the water's edge. They seemed to be of a blackish colour, and were naked; something white was wrapped about their heads and loins, and each had a spear, a club, or a paddle in his hand. In several chasms between the rocks, we observed a few small canoes hauled upon the shore. We now likewise took notice of some coco-nut trees, of no great height, which stood on the slope of the rocks. Two boats were hoisted out, armed and manned, in which the captain, accompanied by Dr. Sparrman, Mr. Hodges, my father, and myself, went ashore. A reef of coral surrounds the whole coast at a short distance; but having found an opening, where the surf was not dangerous, we landed, and climbed up one of the adjacent rocks, where we posted some of our sailors and marines. It consisted entirely of sharp and craggy coral, and was covered with a variety of small shrubby plants, common to the low islands. Besides these, we found some new species, all which grew between the crevices of the coral, without the least atom of soil. Some curlews, snipes, and herons, of the same sort

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which we had observed at Taheitee, likewise appeared on this island. Having walked among the bushes, at the distance of about fifty yards from the water, we heard a loud halloo, upon which we retired to the rock, where our people had taken post. We now learnt that captain Cook, having walked up a long deep gulley, which lay before us, had entered the woods at a little distance from us. He had not proceeded far, when he heard somebody tumbling down from a tree. He supposed it was one of us, and called out to us, but was presently undeceived by the shouts of the Indian. We now called to the natives in those South Sea dialects which we were acquainted with, that we were friends, and desired them to come down to us. They were heard talking and shouting to each other for some time; and presently one of them appeared at the entrance of the gulley. His body was blackened as far as the waist; his head was ornamented with feathers placed upright, and in his hand he held a spear. Behind him we heard many voices in the chasm, though the trees prevented our seeing the people. At last a young man, to all appearance without a beard, stepped forward, and joined the first. He was like him blackened, and had a long bow, like those of Tonga-Tabboo, in his right hand. With the left he instantly flung a very large stone, with so much accuracy, as to hit Dr. Sparrman's arm a violent blow, at the distance of forty yards. The pain which it occasioned irritated my friend

friend so much, that he let fly at his enemy ; but it did not appear that the small shot had any effect. Both the natives retired soon after ; and though we staid here for some time, performing the idle ceremony of taking possession, we saw nothing more of the inhabitants. After we had resumed our course along shore in the boats, we saw the people coming to the water's side at the place which we had left. The appearance of the coast was still the same as we advanced. We landed at the hazard of our necks in another place, which we left as soon as the boat's crew called out, that they perceived the natives above us. We continued till we came to a considerable chasm in the rock, before which a flat reef, full of holes and cavities, extended about fifty yards off shore. We drew up a line of sailors on the reef, and the captain with us walked into the chasm, where we found four canoes. They were very nearly of the same structure with those of Tonga-Tabboo, and had some carving, but were not so neatly wrought. They were single, and had strong out-riggers. Some were covered with coarse mats, and contained fishing-lines, spears, and pieces of wood, which appeared to have served as matches for fishing at night. The captain laid a small present of beads, nails, and medals on each canoe ; but whilst he was so employed, I perceived a troop of natives coming down the chasm, and instantly acquainting our company of it, we all retired a few steps. Two of the natives, dressed with feathers, and
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blackened as the other before mentioned, advanced towards us with furious shouts, and spears in their hands. We called in friendly terms to them; but to no purpose. The captain endeavoured to discharge his musket, but it missed fire. He desired us to fire in our own defence, and the same thing happened to us all. The natives threw two spears: captain Cook narrowly escaped one of them by stooping; the other slid along my thigh, marking my cloaths with the black colour with which it was daubed. We tried to fire again, and at last my piece, loaded with small shot, went off, and Mr. Hodges fired a ball, which did no execution. At the same time a regular firing began behind us from our party, who having observed our retreat, had likewise viewed another troop of the natives coming down by a different path to cut us off. The effect of the small shot fortunately stopped the natives from rushing upon us, and gave us time to retreat to our men, who continued to fire with great eagerness, while any of the natives remained in sight. Two of these in particular, standing among the bushes, brandished their weapons in defiance a considerable while, but at last retired, one of them appearing to be wounded, by the dismal howl which we heard presently after. We now embarked, and resolved to abandon a set of people, whom no entreaties could prevail upon to become our friends. The nature of their country, which is almost inaccessible, seems to have contributed to make their tempers

pers so unfociable. The whole island is purely a coral-rock, like that of the low islands, on which we saw very few coco-palms, and no useful trees. I have therefore formed a conjecture, that the interior parts are not so barren, but fit for the culture of nutritive vegetables. The general resemblance of this island to a coral ledge raised out of the water, almost leads me to suspect that it includes a fertile plain, which was once a lagoon. Whether a convulsion of the globe, or any other cause, lifted such a large piece of coral-rock forty feet above water, is a point which must be left to future philosophers to determine. The boats and arms of the natives resembled those of Tonga-Tabboo, and it is therefore probable that the people have the same origin; but their numbers are inconsiderable, and their civilization little advanced, since they are savage, and go naked. Their island seems to be about three leagues long, and was called Savage Island. It is situated in $19^{\circ} 1' S.$ and $169^{\circ} 37' W.$

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Having reached the ship, the boats were hoisted in, and the next morning we continued our course to the westward. A large high-finned whale, which was seen near the ship, spouted up the water, and several birds and fish attended us as usual.

On the twenty-fourth at night we lay to, as we expected to be very near A-Namoka, or Rotterdam Island, one of the Friendly Isles discovered by Tasman in 1643. Breakers were

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Saturday 25.

were heard a-head at two o'clock, and the land appeared at day-break. We stood for it, and soon found it to consist of several low islands, connected by a vast reef. Another great reef lay to the northward, and we passed between them. At noon a canoe came off towards us, though the nearest land was above a league distant. We discerned two men in it, who stood on a long while, but at last, seeing that the ship gained upon them, they put about and returned. We could not help admiring the difference between this race, and the savages whom we had so lately left, and agreed that the name Friendly was very justly given to them. The wind slackened all the afternoon, and died away to a perfect calm during night. We approached so near one of the reefs by this means, that we ran great risk of being wrecked ; but a breeze springing up in the morning, we were out of danger in a short time.

Sunday 26.

The next morning we sailed between reefs and small islands, which made the water smooth. The islands had a little more elevation than the common coral islands ; they were covered with groves and tufts of trees, which gave them a most enchanting appearance. The houses were seen in great numbers among the trees on the beach, and the islands had an air of happiness and affluence. One of these little gardens rose at its east end into a white perpendicular cliff, with something like horizontal strata. At our distance it looked like the bastion of a ruined fort, and being fringed
with

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with woods and palms, formed altogether a romantic view. Towards noon the wind slackened, and canoes put off from different islands to visit us, though they were above a league distant. Some of them worked so hard, that they were near us in less than an hour; and when they were about a musket-shot off, they began to call to us from time to time, still continuing to paddle towards us. Three persons were in the canoe, exactly like the natives of Eä-ooowhe and Tonga-Tabboo, whom we had seen in October, 1773. When they were along-side, a few beads and nails were presented to them, for which they immediately sent a bunch of bananas, and some delicious shaddocks (*citrus decumanus*) on the deck, besides a bunch of the red fruits of the palm-nut tree or pandang (*athroductylis*) which is a sign of friendship. This being done, they sold us all the shaddocks and fruit which they had, and came on board. In the mean while the other canoes arrived, and acted without the least caution, as if we had been long acquainted. They taught us the names of all the islands in the neighbourhood; that with the high cliff they called Terrefetchéä; the other, which we admired so much for its beauty, Tonooméa: both these lay to the eastward of us. Mango-nooe (great) and Mango-eetee (little) were two islands to the west of us; and to the S. W. beyond them lay Namoka-nooe and Namoka-eetee; the first of which Tasman has called Rotterdam Island, or Anamocka.

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After dinner the breeze freshened, and we sailed towards Namoka, which was the largest island of this group. The number of canoes encreased about us ; they came from all the neighbouring islands with fruit, fish, and pigs, all which they disposed of for nails and rags.

We had soundings all the day between these islands, at first in forty and fifty, and afterwards, when we came nearer, in nine, twelve, fourteen, and twenty fathom. About four o'clock, having hauled round the south end of Namoka, we came to, on the lee or west side of it, where Tasman formerly lay. Our distance from the shore was about a mile. The coast of the island rose fifteen or twenty feet nearly perpendicular, after which it appeared almost level, having only a single hillock near the middle. This steep shore had some resemblance to the coast of Savage Island, which we had lately left, but the richness of its woods was infinitely greater. Innumerable coco-nut palms out-topped the woods, and ornamented the island on all sides.

Whilst we were coming to an anchor, one of the natives caught the lead, and tore the line which one of our people was heaving. He was desired to return it, but took no notice of the captain who spoke to him. A musket with ball was fired through his canoe ; upon which he calmly removed to the other side of the ship. Our demand was repeated, and proving ineffectual again, was enforced by a load of small-shot, which made him smart. He instantly paddled

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paddled to the head of the ship, where a rope hung over-board, to which he tied the line and lead. His countrymen were not satisfied with this restitution ; they turned him out of his canoe, and made him swim on shore, whilst they continued to trade with us. They sold us coco-nuts, excellent yams, bread fruit, bananas, shaddocks, and other fruit. They also brought purple water-hens alive, and a fine well-tasted *sparus* ready dressed in leaves ; also a curious stringy root baked, which contained a very nourishing pulp, of such a sweetness, as if it had been boiled in sugar. All these things were eagerly bought for nails, which were esteemed according to their size, and for pieces of our cloth. Their canoes, their persons, dress, customs and language so entirely resembled those of Tonga-Tabboo, that we could perceive no difference. As this island is at a short distance from Namoka, it is not improbable that the inhabitants of the latter might have heard of our arrival there in October, 1773.

The next morning captain Cook landed early in a sandy Monday 27.
cove, which is accurately described by Tasman. It is enclosed by a reef, and has a narrow entrance for boats at the south end. It is so shallow, that our boats could only come in at high water. The captain purchased a pig, and was conducted to a pond of fresh water at a short distance from the beach, the same where Tasman had supplied his ships with water. The hospitality of the natives was exercised

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in its utmost extent, and one of the handsomest ladies of the island complimented the captain with an offer, which was not accepted. Having examined the watering-place, he returned on board to breakfast, and gave strict orders, that no persons infected with or lately cured of venereal complaints should be suffered to go on shore, and that no woman should be admitted in the ship. A number of ladies came off in several canoes, and seemed very desirous of making acquaintance with our sailors ; but after paddling about the ship for some time, they were obliged to return to the shore, very much discontented. Immediately after breakfast, Dr. Sparrman, my father and myself accompanied captain Cook to the shore, where a trade commenced for shaddocks and yams, which the natives sold us in prodigious quantities. Bananas and coco-nuts were scarce in proportion, and bread-fruit still more rare, though the trees of these sorts were very numerous. All the men went nearly naked, a slight covering on the loins excepted ; a few of them, however, and most of the women, were dressed from the waist to the ankles, in a piece of stiff painted cloth made of bark, wrapped several times round them, or in mats.

As soon as our boats reached the shore, the clamours of all those who had something to sell became so excessively loud, that we hastened into the country, whose aspect was very inviting. A considerable variety of plants covered the
ground

ground in wild luxuriance; and the great number of plantations of all sorts, made the whole island resemble a beautiful garden. The fences which had confined the view at Tonga-Tabboo, were here much less frequent, and only enclosed one side of the path, leaving the other open to the eye. The ground was not perfectly level in the interior parts, but rose in several little hillocks lined with hedges and bushes, which formed a most agreeable prospect. The path which we met with, sometimes went under long rows of lofty trees, planted at considerable distances, between which the ground was covered with the richest verdure; sometimes a thick and impenetrable arbour of fragrant shrubberies vaulted over it for a considerable space, and hid it entirely from the sun; sometimes plantations, and sometimes wilds appeared on both sides. The houses of the natives were of a singular structure: their height was about eight or nine feet; but the walls, which were not perpendicular, but converged towards the bottom, were not above three or four feet from the ground, and very neatly made of reeds. The roof converged into a ridge at the top; so that the section of the house resembled a pentagon. It was thatched, and the roof projected beyond the sloping walls of the house. In one of the long sides there was always an opening about two feet square, and eighteen inches from the ground, which served instead of a door. The length of the house never exceeded thirty feet, and the breadth was commonly

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commonly eight or nine. The inside of these houses was always filled with large roots of yams, which seem to be the chief support of the natives. To sleep upon them must be extremely uncomfortable; and yet a few mats are only spread over them at night, which custom has made acceptable to these people. Those narrow little stools, on which the Tahitians rest the head, are extremely frequent here, and serve the same purpose. We also observed several open sheds, on a few posts, like some which we had seen at Tonga-Tabboo. These were laid out with mats, and seemed to be intended for their abode in the day-time. In our ramble we passed by a number of these habitations, but saw very few inhabitants, they being mostly at the trading place. Those whom we met were always very civil, and bowed their heads, saying, *leleï* (good), *woä* (friend), or some such word, to mark their good temper and disposition. They were our conductors; they brought us flowers from the highest trees, and birds out of the water; they often pointed out the finest plants to us, and taught us their names; we needed only to shew them a plant, of which we wished to have specimens, and they would go to any distance to procure it. Coco-nuts and shaddocks they readily offered to us; and willingly carried great loads for us; a nail, a bead, or even a small rag of cloth, being considered as a valuable present in return. In a word, they were on all occasions ready to oblige us.

In

In the course of our walk we found a large lake or lagoon of salt-water, at the north end of the island, which at one place reached within a few yards of the sea. It was about three miles long, and one wide. Three little islands full of trees, arranged in the most picturesque manner, served to ornament this fine piece of water, of which the shores also captivated the eye by their variety and beauty. The inverted landscape on the water, rendered this scene still more beautiful, especially as our point of view was an eminence, where many tall trees and thick shrubberies screened us from the sun.

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No island, which we had hitherto visited, had offered so great variety of views to us in so small a space; nay, we had no where found such abundance of beautiful flowers, so agreeably contrasting their various tints, and mingling their sweet scents to perfume the air. The lake was full of wild-ducks, and the woods and shores abounded with pigeons, parroquets, rails, and small birds, which the natives brought for sale.

At noon we returned to the trading place, where captain Cook had purchased a great quantity of fruit and roots, a few fowls, and one or two small pigs. When we arrived on board, we found they had been equally successful there in the purchase of provisions. The whole poop was loaded with shaddocks, which we found a most delicious fruit, of excellent flavour; and of yams we had laid in such a quantity,

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tity, that we eat of them every day for several weeks afterwards instead of biscuit. Arms and utensils, the usual articles of trade of these islanders, had likewise been plentifully sold, especially by several people who came in large double sailing canoes from the neighbouring islands. While we were at dinner, one of our shipmates was observed on shore, surrounded by a great croud of natives; but no further notice was taken of him, though he made signals for a boat. One of our trading boats, which was sent ashore as soon as the crew had dined, came near the place where he was stationed, and took him on board. It proved to be our surgeon, Mr. Patton, who had been in the most imminent danger of losing his life, by being carelessly left upon the island without support. From his account it is very plain, that even among these kind and well-disposed people, there were some villains who greatly resembled the wretches that infest our civilized countries. He had left the landing place, and engaging a single native in his service for a few beads, had rambled over great part of the island. His success in shooting was considerable; the native carried eleven ducks, with which he returned to the sandy cove. The boats having already left that place, he was something disconcerted, and the croud pressed about him, conscious that he was in their power. He walked therefore to the rocky shore, just abreast of the ship, where our people saw him. In going thither, the man who carried
the

the ducks endeavoured to drop some of them; but Mr. Patton luckily turning about at that moment, he picked them up again. The croud now pressed close about him, and several of the men threatened him with jagged spears, whilst nothing but the appearance of his fowling-piece kept them in awe. Several women were set on by the men, to draw him off his guard, by a thousand lascivious gestures and attitudes; but his situation was of too serious a nature to permit him to attend to them. After some time a canoe arrived from the ship, and Mr. Patton agreed with the owner to carry him aboard for a nail, the last which he had left. Just as he was stepping into the canoe, they snatched his fowling-piece from him, took all his ducks except three, and sent away the canoe. He was greatly astonished and alarmed, and resolved to return to the top of the rock, where he expected to be more easily distinguished from the ship, from whence he hoped for assistance. The natives now laid aside all reserve, and began to pluck at his cloaths. He readily suffered them to snatch his cravat and handkerchief; but they also seized his coat, and resumed their threatening gestures with such violence, that he expected every moment would be his last. His anxiety and agony cannot well be painted. He put his hands in all his pockets to search for some instrument, a knife or the like, with which to defend himself; he found nothing but a wretched tooth-pick-case; he opened it, and held it out

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upon the croud, who perceiving it hollow, instantly flew back to the distance of two or three yards: he continued to point this formidable weapon against the enemy, whose spears were still lifted against him. The meridian sun shone burning hot upon him; he had walked the whole day, was spent with fatigue, and began to despair of saving his life, when a handsome young woman, remarkable for her flowing curls, which hung down on her bosom, took pity on his wretched condition. She stepped forward from the croud, with the greatest humanity and compassion expressed in her eye; innocence and goodness were so strongly marked in her countenance, that it was impossible to distrust her. She approached, and offered him a piece of shaddock, which was eagerly and thankfully accepted; and gradually supplied him with more, till he had consumed the whole fruit. At last the boats put off from the ship, at sight of which the whole croud dispersed; only his generous benefactress, and an old man, who was her father, remained sitting near Mr. Patton, with that unconcern which a noble and virtuous conduct inspires. She enquired for the name of her friend; he told her that which the Taheitians had given him, Pateenee; and she immediately adopted it, changing it into Patseenee. On stepping into the boat, he gave her father and her a few presents, which he borrowed from the crew, and with these they returned to their groves highly pleased. When Mr. Patton

came

came on board, he acquainted captain Cook with the danger to which he had been exposed; but though he had only followed the example of many of his shipmates, by reposing confidence in the natives, yet the loss of his fowling-piece was considered as a proper punishment for his imprudence. The afternoon was spent in different rambles on shore. My father, with a single sailor, walked over a considerable part of the island, without the least molestation from the inhabitants, and brought on board a number of new plants. No other complaints arose against the natives this day, except some petty thefts, at which they were expert like their brethren of Tonga-Tabboo and the Society Islands.

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The next morning early we discovered several islands to the N. W. of us, which a haze in that quarter had hitherto screened from our sight. The two westernmost were high, one peaked, but the other more extensive. A thick smoke arose from the last, on which, during the night, we had observed a fire. The natives who came on board acquainted us that this fire was constant, so that we concluded it to proceed from a volcano. They called this island Tofooa *, and the peak close to it e-Ghao †. To the northward of these two we discerned thirteen low islands, each of which the natives named to us.

Tuesday 28.

* Tasman calls it Ama-Tofoa in his map. *Ama* or *kama* probably signifies a mountain.

† Tasman calls it Kaybay in his map.

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We hastened ashore after breakfast, to resume our enquiries. We soon left the beach, where the natives were again assembled in great numbers of both sexes. A most beautiful kind of lily (*crinum asiaticum*) was the first plant which we met with; and several others, not less valuable, were collected soon after. We came to the watering-place, which was a pond about a hundred or a hundred and fifty yards long, and fifty broad; it contained stagnant water, which was somewhat tainted with a brackish taste, and might perhaps have subterraneous communications with the salt lagoon, which in one place adjoined to it. Lieutenant Clerke, who superintended the waters, told us that his musket had been nimbly snatched away by one of the natives, who instantly ran off with it. We advanced to the salt lagoon, and botanized among the spacious mangroves which surrounded it. These trees occupy a vast space of ground, and grow more and more intricate by age. Their seeds do not drop off, but shoot down from the top of the tree, till they reach the ground, where they take root, and spread new branches. Whilst we were here, we heard three great guns fired; but the sound being broken by many intervening objects, we suspected that they were only muskets overcharged as usual, by some young gentlemen on a shooting party. We left the lake soon after, and passed through a plantation, where the natives bowed to us very kindly, and invited us to sit down amongst them.

We

We were desirous of making the most of our time, and therefore soon left them, and returned to the fresh-water pond. Having fired a musket at some wild-ducks, which were in great plenty, we were called to by Mr. Gilbert, the master, who told us that a volley of small arms, and three cannon had been fired to alarm and bring us back, because a fray had happened between the natives and our people. We joined him in a few minutes, and found with him the captain, and a file of marines, together with two natives, who sat on their hams, and from time to time pronounced the word *wòà*, which signifies "friend." We supposed that the theft of Mr. Clerke's musket had given occasion to this disturbance; but this was too trifling a circumstance to be resented. The cooper, in mending the water-cask, was not sufficiently attentive to his adze, and one of the natives had snatched it up, and conveyed it away. The captain, in order to recover this valuable instrument, of which however there were no less than a dozen in the ship, ordered his people to seize several large double canoes, which had probably arrived from different adjacent islands. They performed his command, and Mr. Clerke's gun was brought back by the astonished natives. But this was not sufficient, and another canoe was seized. A native, who stood upon it, defended his property, which he had forfeited by no offence, and took up a spear, which he seemed resolved to employ with good effect. Captain Cook levelled his musket at him, and bid him lay down

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down his arms. He refused, and received a load of shot through his wrist and thigh, at the distance of eight or nine yards, which immediately brought him to the ground. The volley was now fired, and a boat sent off to the ship, where three canon, directed against the highest point of the island, were fired off one after another. It was thought that the natives would now have left us; but a great part still remained on the beach conscious of their innocence, and some canoes continued to ply about the ship. The behaviour of one of the natives upon this occasion was so remarkably stoical, that our people could not help taking notice of it. He had a small canoe in which he always met the other canoes before they reached the ship, took out what he liked, and paid their owners, a certain small price in European goods, which he had before obtained by barter. With his new cargo he returned to the ship, and always made a considerable profit upon his bargain. As he never failed to visit each canoe, our sailors called him a Custom-house officer. He was lying close to the ship, baling the water out of his canoe, when the guns were discharged not two yards over his head. Notwithstanding the extraordinary concussion at so short a distance, he never once looked up, but continued to bale, and afterwards to trade as if nothing had happened.

We had not long rejoined the captain and his party, when the unlucky adze was brought back, which had
been

been the occasion of so much mischief. A middle-aged woman, who seemed to have great authority, had dispatched some of the people after it, and they returned at the same time a cartridge-box, and Mr. Patton's fowling-piece, which appeared to have been concealed under water. The wounded man was brought to us on a piece of wood carried by men. He seemed almost without sensation; and was set on the ground, whilst the natives gradually returned, and began to take courage. The women in particular, were very desirous of restoring the general tranquillity, and their timid looks seemed to charge the behaviour of the strangers with cruelty. They seated themselves on a fine green turf, in a group of fifty or more together, and invited several of us to sit by them. Each of them had some shaddocks, which they broke in pieces, and distributed to us with every mark of kindness and peace. Mr. Patton's friend was one of the foremost, and indeed claimed the first rank among the beauties of those islands. Her stature was graceful, and her form exquisitely proportioned. Her features were more regular than any I had ever seen in these isles, full of sweetness and the charms of youth. Her large dark eyes sparkled with fire, and her ebon curls floated on her neck. She was of a lighter colour than the common people, and wore a brown cloth which closely embracing the body immediately under the breast, but being somewhat wider towards

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towards the feet, perhaps suited her better than the most elegant European drefs.

Mr. Patton having been sent for, arrived with proper instruments, and dressed the wounds of the poor native, whose countrymen brought many banana leaves, which were laid on over the dressing. A bottle of brandy was given them, with directions to wash the wounds with the liquor from time to time. The wound was not dangerous, as it happened in a fleshy part; but as the distance was so short, the shot had torn the flesh very much, and made the wound very painful to the poor man. After this we distributed some beads, and departed making various signs of friendship. The natives like those of Tonga-Tabboo, were strangers to resentment, and continued to trade with our ship as before. They seemed to possess a truly mercantile spirit, and spared no trouble to obtain some of our goods or curiosities. Among the rest, they were much delighted with a great number of young puppies which we had taken on board at the Society Islands, on purpose to stock such islands as were not provided with them. We left two couple on Namoka, of which the natives promised to take particular care. These people managed their canoes with surprising agility, and swam with the greatest ease. Their common trading-canoes were neatly made, and polished like those which I have already described. But those of the neighbouring islands were of a great size, and some
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of them contained upwards of fifty people. They always consisted of two large canoes, fastened by a tranverse platform of planks, in the midst of which they had erected a hut, where they placed their goods, their arms, and utensils, and where they passed great part of their time. There were likewise holes, which gave admittance into the body of each canoe. Their masts were stout poles which could be struck at pleasure, and their sails were very large and triangular, but not very proper to sail by the wind. All their cordage was excellent, and they had also contrived a very good ground tackle, consisting of a strong rope with large stones at the end, by means of which they came to an anchor.

We went on shore again after dinner, as captain Cook proposed leaving this island the next day. We passed through several fields and wild shrubberies, and collected a number of valuable plants. We also made a purchase of several arms, such as clubs, and spears, and of some utensils, viz. small stools, large wooden dishes and bowls, in which the people prepare their victuals, and some earthen pots which seemed to have been long in use. The great abundance of their arms, does not agree with their good-nature and hospitable disposition, unless they quarrel with their next neighbours, like the people of Taheitee and the Society Islands. But they seemed to have spent too much time

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in ornamenting their clubs, to have frequent occasion to use them.

At day-break the next morning we unmoored and set sail, standing towards the island of Tofooa, on which we had again observed the volcano burning during night. A whole fleet of canoes followed us several miles, trading with a variety of articles, particularly their dresses, utensils, and ornaments. Some of them likewise brought fish of different sorts, which we had found very well-tasted.

The island of Namoka, which we left after a stay of two days only, was not above fifteen miles in circuit, but seemed to be remarkably populous. It lies in $20^{\circ} 17' S.$ and $174^{\circ} 32' W.$ In the group of islands which appeared around it, its size was the most considerable; but all seemed to be well inhabited, and very rich in vegetable productions. They are situated on a kind of bank, on which there is from nine to sixty and seventy fathom water, and the soil is probably the same in every island. Namoka consists, like Tonga-Tabboo, of a coral-rock, covered with a rich mould on which all sorts of vegetables thrive. We had no time to examine the hillock in its centre, which seems to have had a different origin, and may perhaps be volcanic. At present it is wholly covered with the richest groves, like the rest of the island. The abundance of fresh water in the pond, is an advantage which the people of Namoka enjoy in

in preference to those of Tonga-Tabboo; but it does not appear that they bathe so regularly as the Tahitians, perhaps because the stagnant water is not very inviting. Its advantage is however so much felt, that the natives brought it to the ship in calabashes, and did the same to Tasman, which implies that it is looked upon as a valuable article among them. The abundance of water, and the richness of the soil likewise seems to be the reason, that bread-fruit and shaddock trees are much more frequent, and all vegetation infinitely more luxuriant than on Tonga-Tabboo. The fences on that account are not laid out, and kept up with that extreme regularity, though they are still preserved in part. The long walks of fruit-trees, and the delightful green turf under them, were rather to be compared to the richest spots on Ea-oowhe, or Middleburg Island. The tufted arbours which vaulted over the paths, are hung with beautiful flowers of all kinds, many of which filled the air with fragrance. The variety of scenes formed by many little risings, and different groups of houses and trees, together with the lagoons, conspire to adorn this island. The fowls and hogs which we saw in the neighbourhood of every dwelling, the prodigious number of shaddocks which lay under every tree, hardly noticed by the natives, and the quantities of yams which filled their houses, gave a picture of abundance and affluence which delighted the eye and comforted the heart. At sight of a plenteous prospect,

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human nature feels an instinctive satisfaction, and good humour and joy are soon revived in the most dejected breast. Amidst the dismal scenes of our voyage, these intervening moments are remarkably contrasted, and therefore had a great effect upon us. It is so natural to dwell upon pleasing subjects, that I hope, I need not apologize for my frequent descriptions; and I must refer the reader to Mr. Hodges's view in the interior parts of Namoka, which will give an idea of a farm in that island. It is engraved and inserted in captain Cook's account of this voyage.

The natives, who were happy enough to call these fertile groves their own, did not appear to me to differ in any respect from those of Tonga-Tabboo, and Ea-oowhe. Their stature was middle-sized, their colour a bright chestnut brown; and their whole body well-proportioned, without being corpulent. Their punctures, their dress, the customs of clipping the beard, and powdering the hair, their arms, utensils, and canoes, their language and manners were exactly such as we had noticed at Tonga-Tabboo. But in the short time which we staid on their island, we could not observe any subordination among them, though this had strongly characterised the natives of Tonga-Tabboo, who seemed to descend even to servility in their obeisance to their king. At Namoka we could not distinguish any persons of superior rank or authority, unless we except the man, whom our sailors called a Custom-house officer, and who inspected all
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the canoes which came to the ship. The woman who sent for the stolen things, appeared also to have some sway among them; and since there is reason to suppose, that women whose hair are allowed to grow long, have some prerogatives above the rest in the South Sea *, Mr. Patton's friendly benefactress seems to have been a lady of a superior class, which her whole deportment confirmed. She was the only woman with long hair whom we saw on the island. I am far from concluding that the people of Namoka have no fixed government; on the contrary, their vicinity and similarity to other islanders, amongst whom a monarchical government takes place, and the example of all the other islanders of the South Sea which former navigators have examined, give the greatest room to suppose the same existing there. The general coincidence of their manners with those of Tonga-Tabboo, strongly prove that they have the same origin, and probably the same religious notions; but notwithstanding this agreement, I never found a *fayetooka* or burying-place, during my rambles upon Namoka, nor did any one of our shipmates meet with a place in any wise resembling the burying-places which we found at Tonga-Tabboo.

It appears, from the accounts of former voyagers, that between the meridians of 170° east from Greenwich, and

* See vol. I. p. 327.

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180°, there is a great number of islands, from the 10th to the 22d degree of latitude; all which, as far as they are known, seem to be inhabited by one race of people, who speak the same dialect of the South Sea tongue, and have the same social and mercantile disposition. All these then might be added to the Friendly Islands. They are in general remarkably well inhabited, particularly those which we visited. Tonga-Tabboo is almost one continual garden, and Ea-oowe, Namoka, and the adjacent islands, are some of the most fertile spots in the Pacific Ocean. We shall therefore be extremely moderate in our calculation, if we suppose the number of inhabitants in all these islands does not exceed 200,000 persons. Their healthy climate, and its excellent productions, keep them free from those numerous diseases, to which we fall an easy prey, and, according to their plain and simple notions, satisfy all their wants. Their progress in the arts, beyond other nations in the South Sea, and particularly their refinement in music, serve to pass away their time agreeably, and give them taste to acknowledge and discern the beauties of their own exquisite forms, from whence one of the strongest ties of society is derived. Their general turn is active and industrious, but their behaviour to strangers more polite than cordial. Their peculiar propensity to trade seems to have substituted this insincere civility, in the room of real friendship, from those interested and mercenary principles which commerce inspires. Both
these

these characters are in direct opposition to those of the Tahitians, who delight in an indolent life, and are too hearty in their affections to confine them to outward show and specious appearances. However there are many luxurious individuals (arreoys) at the Society Islands, whose moral character appears to be somewhat depraved; whilst the people of the Friendly Islands seem to be ignorant of vices, which can only have arisen from a superior degree of opulence.

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The canoes which accompanied us from Namoka returned at noon to several low islands, all which seemed to be well inhabited and fertile, like so many beautiful gardens. After dinner the wind became contrary, and abated, so that we rather lost than gained ground. A few canoes came up with us again, for the natives spared no labour to obtain our nails and rags of cloth. Towards evening we were surrounded by a little fleet, and the trade was very brisk, chiefly for the utensils and arms of the islanders, which are made with remarkable neatness.

The canoes returned once more to us the next morning, putting off at day-break from all the little islands in sight. Their appearance and their sailing afforded us much entertainment. Before the wind they go extremely swift, being well contrived for that purpose, and their broad triangular sail gives them a very picturesque form at a distance. We left them in a short time, when the breeze freshened, and failed.

Thursday 30.

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failed towards the two high islands, which we had discovered whilst we lay at anchor. In the afternoon three canoes came up with us again ; and one of them, with 50 men on board, traded with us just as we were in the narrow passage between both islands. The larger, to the southward, which is called Tofoòà, appeared to be inhabited. Some of the natives on board our ship told us it had fresh water, together with coco-nut, banana, and bread-fruit trees. We saw indeed a number of palms, and a great quantity of the club-wood. The whole island, though steep, was in some places covered with verdure or shrubbery. Towards the sea, and especially towards the other island, the rocks seemed burnt, and black sand covered the shore. We approached within a cable's length of it, but found a depth of eighty fathom, which prevented our coming to an anchor. The rocks towards the passage, which was not above a mile across, were cavernous, and in some places had a rude columnar shape. The day was somewhat hazy, and the top of the island was therefore covered with clouds. The smoke however rolled up with impetuosity, and seemed, before we had passed the strait, to issue from the other side of the mountain. As soon as we had passed it, it appeared to arise from the side which we had just left. This deception proves, that the top of the mountain was hollow, or formed a crater, from whence the vapour was thrown up. There was a spot on the N. W. side of the island, somewhat below
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the place where we saw the smoke come out, which had the appearance of being lately burnt: it was destitute of verdure, though the mountain on both sides of it was covered with various plants. When we came exactly into the line in which the smoke was carried by the wind, we had a small shower of rain, and many of us felt it very biting and sharp, when it dropped into our eyes. It is probable from thence, that it carried down with it some particles which the volcano had ejected. The wind being at S. S. E. and freshening, we left this island, without being able to make any farther observations upon it; though it well deserved the attention of the learned, who make the revolutions which our globe has undergone, the object of their useful and curious enquiries.

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We sailed to the W. S. W. and continued the same course all the next day. The following day, very near noon, we discovered land, which, from the direction of our track, had never been seen by other navigators. We ran toward it, and before night approached pretty near it; but found breakers before us, which obliged us to tack all night, for fear of an accident. Several lights which appeared on shore as soon as it was dark, announced to us that the island was inhabited.

Friday 7.

The next morning we bore down upon it again, and came round its east end. It appeared to be about seven miles long, and had two small hills of very gentle ascent,

Sunday 9.

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wholly covered with woods, like the rest of the island. One end sloped into a flat point, on which we observed fine groves of coco-palms, and fruit-trees, together with houses in their shade. A fine sandy beach surrounded the shore, and at the distance of half a mile, a coral reef encompassed the east side of the island, which at the points projected near two miles from the shore. On this reef we soon perceived five blackish-brown men, with clubs in their hands, looking at us very attentively. We hoisted a boat out, and sent the master to sound an opening between the reefs which we saw before us. He went on through the entrance towards the shore, where we observed upwards of thirty inhabitants sitting. Amongst them ten or twelve were armed with spears; but as soon as our boat came near, they hauled a canoe into the woods, which had brought their five men to and from the reef, and all ran off when the master landed. He laid some nails, a knife, and a few medals on the sandy beach, and returned on board, to acquaint the captain that there was no bottom in the entrance of the reef, and not sufficient depth within it. He had observed a dozen or more large turtles swimming in the harbour; but being destitute of harpoons, or other instruments, could not strike any of them. Our boat was hoisted in again, and the hopes of botanizing on this island were entirely frustrated. We continued standing along its reef, on which we observed some large single rocks of coral, near fifteen feet above the surface

surface of the water, narrow at the base, and spreading out at the top. Whether an earthquake had raised them so high out of the sea, in which they must have been formed, or whether some other cause ought to be assigned for this curious fact, remains to be determined.

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A few miles to the westward of the island we found a great circular reef of coral, including a lagoon. It was suspected that this lagoon might be the abode of turtles, and two boats were hoisted out in the afternoon to go in quest of them. The fishery proved very unsuccessful, not a single turtle being seen, and the crew hoisted the boats in again before sunset. We then left this new discovery, which was named Turtle Island, and is situated in $19^{\circ} 48' S.$ and $178^{\circ} 2' W.$

We ran to the W. S. W. with a fresh trade-wind by day, but tacked every night. No birds attended us on this course, except now and then a white booby, or a man of war bird. The fair weather, the yams of Namoka, and the hope of making new discoveries in this part of the Pacific Ocean, which had never been visited before, kept us all in very good spirits.

On the 9th of July, having reached nearly $176^{\circ} E.$ and being in $20^{\circ} S.$ we changed our course to the N. W. Our fresh gale continued without any change till the 13th, when it was somewhat abated, and a few drops of rain fell both at night and in the morning. The second anniversary

Saturday 9.

Wednesd. 13.

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of our departure from England, which happened on this day, was celebrated by the failors with their usual mirth. They drank plentifully, having saved a part of their daily allowance, for this solemn occasion, and drowned every gloomy idea in grog, the mariner's Lethe. One of them, of a fanatical turn, composed a hymn on the occasion, as he had done the first year; and after seriously exhorting his fellows to repentance, sat down and hugged the bottle heartily; but like all the rest, he proved unequal to the conflict, and sunk under the powerful influence of his adversary.

Saturday 16.

The wind freshened very much the two following days, and on the third the weather became hazy, with showers of rain. A calabash, which we observed drifting past the ship, seemed to indicate the near approach of land; and indeed a few hours after, about two o'clock in the afternoon, on the 16th, we made it at a little distance before us, being high, and of considerable extent. The gale increased towards night, and the ship rolled very much; the rains were incessant at the same time, and coming through the decks into our cabins, thoroughly soaked our books, cloaths, and beds, depriving us of rest. The same heavy gales, with bad weather, continued all the next day, and so involved the land in clouds, that we could scarce discern it, but were forced to stand off and on. This weather was the more disagreeable, as it was unexpected in a sea, which has always been termed Pacific. It proves, that no entire reliance may

may be had upon general denominations ; and, that though storms and hurricanes are perhaps very seldom felt in this ocean, yet it is not wholly free from them. Its western part is particularly known for strong gales. When captain Pedro Fernandez de Quiros left his Tierra del Espíritu Santo ; when M. de Bougainville was on the coast of the Louisiade ; and when captain Cook, in the Endeavour, explored the eastern coast of New Holland, each of them met with stormy weather. Perhaps it may be owing to the large lands which are situated in this part of the ocean ; at least it is known, that the stated winds of the torrid zone become variable in the neighbourhood of high and extensive coasts.

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The weather was a little clearer the next morning, so that we could venture to run in shore. We distinguished two islands, which were the Whitsun and Aurora Islands, of M. de Bougainville, and ran for the northern extremity of the latter.

Thus, after spending two years in visiting the discoveries of former voyagers, in rectifying their mistakes, and in combating vulgar errors, we began the third, by investigating a group of islands which the French navigator, pressed by necessity, and ill fitted out, had left with precipitation. It was reserved for this last year to teem in new discoveries, and to make amends for the two first. We had, it is true, no reason to complain, since most of the countries

Monday 18.

we:

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we had visited, were scarcely known to the world, from the vague and unphilosophical accounts of the discoverers. We had room to make a variety of observations on men and manners, which, though they ought to be the first objects of travellers, have still been postponed, even by those who have aimed at being looked upon by the world as the most enlightened. But, as mankind are ever captivated by the charms of novelty, the history of our transactions, during the ensuing months, will have that advantage at least to recommend it to their attention.

END OF THE SECOND BOOK.

A VOYAGE

A
V O Y A G E
ROUND THE
W O R L D.
B O O K III.

C H A P. I.

*An account of our stay at Mallicollo, and discovery of the New
Hebrides.*

WE reached the north-point of Aurora island at eight
in the morning, on the 18th of July, and passing
very close to it, observed vast numbers of coco-nut-palms
on all parts of it, not excepting the high ridges of the
island. The whole, as far as a thick haze permitted us to
see, was clad in thick forests which had a pleasing, but
wild appearance. My father had a momentaneous glimpse
of a small rocky peak to the northward, which M. Bougain-
ville calls Pic de l'Etoile, or Pic d'Averdi; but the clouds
which moved with great velocity soon involved it. By the
help of glasses some natives were seen on Aurora, and as

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we approached nearer, we heard them calling to one another. Having passed the north end of Aurora, we stood to the southward along its western coast, as far as the wind would permit, which blew more southerly than easterly. We had only this advantage, that being sheltered by the land on all sides, the water was remarkably smooth, though the gale continued. The island which M. de Bougainville named the Isle of Lepers, was right a-head of us, and we passed the day in tacking between it and Aurora. At four o'clock in the afternoon, we approached within a mile and a half of the former, and in spite of the clouds which rested on its heights, saw so much of the lower grounds, that we had reason to think it a very fertile island. The place where we approached it was very steep, nor could we find bottom with one hundred and twenty fathoms. However, the north east point was lower, and covered with all sorts of trees. The palms in particular were innumerable, and to our surprise grew on the hills, where we had never seen them in other islands. Several considerable cascades rushed down the precipices into the sea, amidst shrubberies which formed as rich an ornament as in the landscapes of Dusky Bay. Having put about, we observed a turtle sleeping on the water, which the violence of the wind did not seem to affect. We tacked all night in order to gain to the southward, being desirous of passing between the Isle of Lepers and Aurora. We came close under the former again at
eight

eight in the morning. Having put about, a small canoe ventured out with a single man in it. We made a short trip, and returned towards the shore, where three men in another canoe were preparing to come to us. Several people sat on the rocks and projecting bluff points. Some were blackened from the head downwards, as far as the breast; they had something white on their heads, but went naked, with a rope about the waist. Only one of them had a cloth across one shoulder, which came under the opposite arm like a scarf, and then round his loins; it seemed to be of a dirty white with a reddish border. All these people were of a dark brown colour, and armed with bows and long arrows. Those who came off in canoes, came very near us, talking loud and unintelligibly for some time, but constantly refused to come on board. Having been obliged to put about the ship, they left us, and returned to their countrymen on shore. In several places we observed reeds like hurdles, standing up between the rocks, which seemed to be so placed in order to catch fish.

We now approached the isle of Aurora, where we observed a fine beach, and the most luxuriant vegetation that can be conceived. The whole country was woody; numberless climbers ran up the highest trees, and forming garlands and festoons between them, embellished the scene. A neat plantation fenced with reeds, stood on the slope of the hill, and a beautiful cascade poured down through the

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adjacent forest. About two o'clock three canoes came off from the island of Aurora, when we were close in shore, but as we could not stay for them, they returned like those of Lepers Island. The island of Aurora is about twelve leagues long, but not above five miles broad in any part, lying nearly north and south. The middle is in $15^{\circ} 6' S.$ and $168^{\circ} 24' E.$ Its mountain or ridge is sharp, and of considerable height. Whitfun Island, which lies about four miles to the south of it, runs in the same direction, and is of the same length, but appears to be somewhat broader at its northern extremity. Its middle lies in $15^{\circ} 45' S.$ and in $168^{\circ} 28'$ east longitude. The Isle of Lepers is almost as large as Aurora, but of greater breadth, and its situation is nearly east and west; the middle lies in $15^{\circ} 20'$ south, and $168^{\circ} 3'$ east.

Whitfun Island, as well as the Isle of Lepers, having more sloping exposures than Aurora, appear to be better inhabited, and to contain more plantations. At night we observed many fires on them, particularly the first, where they extended to the tops of the hills. This circumstance seems to prove, that they live in great measure on agriculture; and since they have but few canoes, and their shores very steep, fishing does not seem to employ them so much as other islanders.

Wednesd. 20.

The island which M. de Bougainville has placed to the southward of Whitfun Island, came in sight the next morning,

morning, but was still so much involved in clouds, that we could not distinguish its form or height. We passed all that day in working to windward, which we performed with better success, as the gale had a little abated.

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The next morning we had moderate and fair weather, and saw M. de Bougainville's southern island very distinctly. There was a passage between it and the south end of Whitsun Island, about six miles in breadth. A long low point extended from this southern island to the eastward; and all its north side, though steep towards the sea, rose from thence with a gentle and gradual ascent to the highest mountains in the centre. In the mountains, which were still covered with clouds, we observed some volumes, as it appeared, of smoke, which indicated a volcano. This island is about seven leagues in length, and its middle lies in $16^{\circ} 15' S.$ and $168^{\circ} 20' E.$ Thursday 21st

Later in the day we discovered land to the westward, which proved to be the south-westernmost land seen by M. de Bougainville. We advanced towards it, overjoyed with the variety of new islands which presented themselves to our view. Having reached the N. W. end of the former island, on which we suspected a volcano, we were convinced of its existence, by columns of white smoke, which rolled up with great violence from the summit of an inland mountain. The whole south-west coast of this island sloped into a very fine and extensive plain, on which innumerable smokes arose, between the richest groves which our eyes had be-

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held since our departure from Taheitee. The populousness of the country was strongly evinced by its fertile appearance, and by the number of fires. We opened two other islands to the south-eastward, after passing the west end of this land, one of which was a very high peak, which looked like a volcanic mountain. Another island, with three high hills, also appeared to the south, at a great distance. The western land, towards which we sailed, was not less beautiful than that which we left. Its groves had the richest tints of verdure, and coco-palms were scattered between them in vast numbers. The mountains rose far inland, and before them lay several lower grounds, all covered with woods, and bounded by a fine beach. At noon we came close in shore, and saw many natives wading into the water to the waist, having clubs in their hands, but waving green boughs, the universal signs of peace. One of them had a spear, and another a bow and arrows. Contrary to their expectations, and perhaps their wishes, we put about again. However after dinner two boats were hoisted out, and sent to sound in a little harbour, which we observed from the ship. The whole south point of this little bay, which was bounded by a coral reef, was lined by several hundred inhabitants, of whom a few ventured out in their canoes towards the ship and the boats. They did not approach near the ship whilst she staid out at sea; but the boats having made the signal for good anchorage, we came in after them, into a narrow harbour, with reefs at the entrance, but
which

which seemed to go inland to a considerable distance. Our boats returned on board, and the officer acquainted the captain, that the natives had come within a few yards in their canoes, but had not offered the least insult ; on the contrary, they had waved green boughs, and dipping their hands into salt water, had poured it on their heads. This compliment our officer returned, much to their satisfaction, it being probably a sign of friendship. They now approached the ship in their canoes, waving green plants, particularly the leaves of the *dracæna terminalis*, and of a beautiful *croton variegatum*, and repeating the word Tomarr or Tomarro continually, which seemed to be an expression equivalent to the Taheitian Tayo (friend.) The greater part of them were however armed with bows and arrows, and a few with spears ; being thus prepared, at all events, both for peace and war. By degrees they ventured near the ship, and received a few pieces of Taheitee cloth, which they eagerly accepted. Presently they handed up some of their arrows in exchange ; at first such as were pointed with wood only, but soon after even such as were armed with points of bone, and daubed with a black gummy stuff, on which account we suspected them to be poisoned. A young Taheitian puppy was therefore wounded in the leg with one of these arrows, to try its effect ; but we perceived no dangerous symptoms.

The language of these people was so utterly different
from

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from all the South Sea dialects which we had hitherto heard, that we could not understand a single word of it. It was much harsher than any of them, and the *r*, *s*, *ch*, and other consonants abounded in it. The people themselves differed from any that we had hitherto seen. They were all remarkably slender, and in general did not exceed five feet four inches in height. Their limbs were often indifferently proportioned, their legs and arms long and slim, their colour a blackish brown, and their hair black, frizzled and woolly. Their features were more extraordinary than all the rest. They had the flat broad nose and projecting cheek-bones of a Negroe, and a very short forehead, which had sometimes an unusual direction, being something more depressed than in well-formed men. Many of them were besides this painted with a black colour in the face and over the breast, which disfigured them more than their natural ugliness. A few had a small cap on the head, made of matted work, but all went stark naked, and tied a rope so fast round their belly, that it made a deep notch. Most other nations invent some kind of covering, from motives of shame; but here a roll of cloth continually fastened to the belt, rather displays than conceals, and is the very opposite of modesty.

They continued about the ship, talking with great vociferation, but at the same time in such a good-humoured manner, that we were much entertained. We had no
fooner

sooner looked at one of them, that he began to chatter without reserve, and grinned almost like Milton's Death. This circumstance, together with their slender form, their ugly features, and their black colour, often provoked us to make an ill-natured comparison between them and monkeys. We should be sorry, however, to supply Rousseau, or the superficial philosophers who re-echo his maxims, with the shadow of an argument in favour of the Orang-outang system. We rather pity than despise these men, who can so far forget and abuse their own intellectual faculties, as to degrade themselves to the rank of baboons.

When it was dark the natives returned on shore, where they made a number of fires, and were heard speaking as loud among themselves as they had done to us. About eight, however, they all returned to the ship in their canoes, with burning firebrands, in order to have another conversation. On their part they carried it on with surprising spirit, but we did not reply with equal volubility. The evening was very fine and calm, and the moon shone out at times. Seeing that we were not so talkative as themselves, they offered to sell us their arrows and other trifles; but captain Cook prohibited the trade, in order to get rid of them. We were surprised with their behaviour, it being unusual to see any Indians awake and active about the ship after sunset. Some thought they only came as spies, to see whether we were upon our guard; but their inoffensive behaviour

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haviour seemed to free them from this suspicion. When they found us resolved not to barter with them, they retreated to the shore towards midnight. We heard them singing and beating their drums all night, and could observe them sometimes dancing ; so that we concluded they were of a very chearful disposition.

Friday 22.

They gave us very little respite in the morning. At day-break they came off in their canoes, and began to call to us, frequently intermixing the word Tomarr in their noisy speeches. Four or five of them came on board the ship without any arms : they soon became familiar, and with the greatest ease climbed up the shrouds to the mast-head. When they came down again, the captain took them into his cabin, and gave them presents of medals, ribbons, nails, and pieces of red baize. They were the most intelligent people we had ever met with in the South Seas ; they understood our signs and gestures, as if they had been long acquainted with them, and in a few minutes taught us a great number of their words. Their language was really as we had immediately suspected, wholly distinct from that general language, of which several dialects are spoken at the Society Isles, the Marquesas, the Friendly Isles, the Low Islands, Easter Island, and New Zealand. It was not difficult to pronounce, but contained more consonants than any of the dialects here mentioned. The most singular sound was a shaking or vibration of *brrr* together. Thus, for instance,

stance, one of our friends was called Mambrrùm, and the other Bonombrrooàï. Whatever they saw, they coveted; but they never repined at a refusal. The looking-glasses which we gave them were particularly admired, and they took great pleasure in looking at themselves; so that these ugly people seemed to have more self-conceit, than the beautiful nation at Tabeitee and the Society Islands. They had perforated ears, and a hole in the *septum narium*, into which they put a bit of stick, or two little pieces of white felenite or alabaſter, which are tied together in an obtuse angle. On the upper arm they wore bracelets, very neatly wrought, of small pieces of black and white ſhells. These bracelets fitted ſo cloſely, that it was plain they had been put on whiſt their owners were young; for at preſent it was quite impoſſible to draw them over the elbow. Their ſkins were very ſoft and ſmooth, and of a ſooty or blackiſh-brown colour, which was heightened by black paint in the face. Their hair was frizzled, and woolly to the touch, though not of the ſoſteſt. Their beards were frizzled, but not woolly, and well furniſhed with hair. They had no punctures on their body, but indeed they could not have been ſeen on their black ſkin at any conſiderable diſtance. Mr. Hodges took an opportunity of drawing their portraits, one of which has been engraved for captain Cook's account of the voyage. It is very characteriſtic of the nation; but we muſt lament, that a defect in the drawing, has made it ne-

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cessary to infringe the *costume*, and to throw a drapery over the shoulder, though these people have no kind of cloathing. They were easily persuaded to sit for their portraits, and seemed to have an idea of the representations.

We were deeply engaged in conversation with them, and they seemed happy beyond measure, when the first lieutenant came into the cabin. He acquainted captain Cook that one of the natives having been denied admittance into the ship, which was by this time crowded with them, had pointed his arrow at the sailor in our boat, who pushed back his canoe. Before he had done speaking, our acute natives guessed his errand, and having before observed the windows open, one of them instantly jumped out, and swam to his outrageous countryman to hold his hands. The captain went upon deck presently, and took up a musket, which he pointed at the native, who persisted in his attitude in spite of his fellows. Seeing that captain Cook had levelled at him, he also pointed his arrows at him. At this moment, the rest of the natives around the ship called to those in the cabin; these fearing the worst consequences from the violence of their countryman, hurried out of the windows, notwithstanding all our endeavours to quiet their apprehensions. We heard a musket fired off the instant after, and repairing on deck, saw the native who had received some small shot, very deliberately laying by his arrow, which was only pointed with wood, and selecting

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one of those which we believed to be poisoned. As soon as he had taken aim, the third lieutenant fired at him again; the small shot which he received in his face, obliged him to give up all thoughts of fighting, and he paddled quickly towards the shore. At the same moment an arrow was shot off from the other side of the ship, which fell in the mizen shrouds. A ball was fired after the native who sent it to us, but luckily without effect. Every canoe now moved gradually towards the shore, and all who were on board flung themselves into the sea; one in particular, who was at the mast-head when the fray began, not thinking of any harm, came down with the greatest precipitation when the muskets went off. To terrify these people, and to give them a specimen of our power, a cannon was fired over their heads among the trees on shore. This accelerated their retreat; the nearest to us jumped out of their canoes in a fright, and all reached the shore in great confusion. Presently their drums began to beat in different parts, to give the alarm, and the poor fellows were seen running along shore, and huddling under the bushes together, in close consultation on this alarming crisis of their affairs. In the mean while we went quietly to breakfast.

At nine o'clock some canoes again made their appearance, rowing round the ship, and very cautiously coming nearer. We waved to them with a branch of the *dracæna terminalis*, which we had before received; and after they had

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dipped their hands in the sea, and put them on their heads, they received a few presents which captain Cook gave them, and went away to the shore. Two of our boats were now manned, and a party of marines embarked with the captain, my father, Dr. Sparrman, myself, and several others. A reef bounded the shore at the distance of thirty yards or more. It was so shallow, that we were forced to step out, and wade to the beach, where our marines formed without opposition. We were received by a croud of no less than three hundred persons, all armed, but very friendly and inoffensive in their behaviour towards us. A middle-aged man, rather stronger than the generality of the people, gave away his bow and quiver to another, and came unarmed to shake hands with us, in sign of peace and amity; he was perhaps a chief among them. A pig was brought at the same time, and presented to the captain, apparently as a kind of expiation for their countryman's ill behaviour; but perhaps it was only a ratification of the peace which we had concluded. This interview is represented in a fine plate, designed by Mr. Hodges, and engraved for captain Cook's account of this voyage. After we had received the pig, we expressed by signs that we wanted wood, and they immediately pointed out some trees which grew close to the beach, which we cut down, and sawed in pieces. The beach did not exceed fifteen yards in breadth; and our situation was very precarious in case of an attack. The
marines

marines therefore drew a line before them, which the natives were desirous not to transgress. They readily complied with this regulation; but their numbers increased from all parts continually. They were all armed with bows ready strung, made of a tough dark-brown wood, finer than mahogany; and with arrows, which they held in a cylindrical quiver, formed of leaves. All these arrows were made of reeds about two feet long; those of the common sort had a point about a foot or fifteen inches long, consisting of a polished jetty black wood, like ebony, but excessively brittle; the rest, which were kept in quivers, were all pointed with a short bit of bone, two or three inches long. This was inserted in a notch of the reed, which was again curiously and firmly united together by means of single coco-nut fibres, wound across each other, so as to form little rhomboidal compartments, about $\frac{1}{20}$ of an inch square, which were filled up with minute attention, alternately with a reddish, green, and white earthy colour. The point of bone itself was very sharp, and smeared with a black resinous substance.

We left our lines, and walked over amongst the natives, who conversed with us, and with great good-will sat down on the stump of a tree to teach us their language. They were surprised at our readiness to remember, and seemed to spend some time in pondering how it was possible to preserve the sound by such means as pencil and paper. They were not only assiduous in teaching, but had curiosity enough to learn

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learn our language, which they pronounced with such accuracy, that we had reason to admire their extensive faculties and quick apprehension. Observing their organs of speech to be so flexible, we tried the most difficult sounds in the European languages; nay, we had recourse to the compound Russian *shotch*, all which they pronounced at the first hearing, without the least difficulty. We presently taught them our numerals, which they repeated rapidly on their fingers; in short, what they wanted in personal attraction, was amply made up in acuteness of understanding. We began to trade with them for their arms, but they were at first very loth to exchange them; however, a handkerchief, or piece of Taheitee cloth, or English frieze, was of some value among them. They began to sell their common arrows, and afterwards those which were poisoned; but advised us not to try the points against our fingers, making us understand, by the plainest signs, that with a common arrow, a man might be shot through the arm without dying, but that the slightest scratch with one of the other sort was mortal. If notwithstanding this information, we attempted to bring the point on our fingers, they caught hold of our arm, with the most friendly gesture, to save us, as it were, from imminent danger. Besides bows and arrows, they wore a club of the casuarina-wood, which hung on their right shoulder, from a thick rope, made of a kind of grass. This club

club was commonly knobbed at one end, and very well polished, like all their manufactures. It did not exceed two feet and a half in length, and appeared to be reserved for close engagement, after emptying the quiver. On the left wrist, they wore a circular wooden plate neatly covered, and joined with straw, about five inches in diameter, upon which they broke the violence of the recoiling bow-string, and prevented it from hurting their arms. This kind of ruffle, and their ornaments, such as the bracelets above mentioned, pieces of shell cut in form of large rings, which were also worn on the arm, the stone in their nose, and the shell which hung on their breast, suspended by a string round the neck, they at this time refused to sell.

We observed no new plants on the borders of the beach where our people cut down trees; but the country within looked very tempting, being one great forest. Dr. Sparrman, and myself, observing a path which ascended into the wood behind some bushes, went in unnoticed, and advanced about twenty yards, where we fortunately found two fine new plants. But we had scarcely made this valuable acquisition, when some of the natives appeared coming from the country, who at sight of us stopped, and made repeated signs to us to return to the beach. We beckoned to them, and shewed them the plants which we had collected, intimating as well as our gestures could express it, that we had come for no other purpose. This pretence availed us nothing;

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nothing ; and as they continued to call us out of the wood, we complied for fear of raising a new disturbance. The wood which we had thus suddenly quitted, was very dark and interspersed with bushes. However, a broad mass of light in the interior parts, seemed to indicate a plantation, which we should have reached, if we had not been too early interrupted. The various voices of women and children, which issued from that spot confirmed our conjecture. The trees which grew in the wood, were in general of well known sorts ; but among the under-woods there appeared several sorts hitherto unnoticed. From the ship however, we had perceived vast numbers of coco-palms, some bananas, bread-fruit, and other valuable cultivated trees, of which the natives had given us the names.

Captain Cook having in the mean while, asked for fresh water, the person whom we supposed to be a chief, sent for a calabash full, which was very pure, and also presented the captain with a coco-nut ; but in spite of all our enquiries, we could not prevail upon the natives to bring us any more. A few of them wore a small bunch of greens on their arm, which we knew to be part of an odoriferous plant of a new genus, named *cuodia* (Forst. Nov. Gen.) Some suffered us to take and examine it, but others took it out of our hands and threw it away, with an angry expression, as if it was either noxious or ominous. We had frequently eaten the seeds of this plant, which are finely aromatic, without

without suffering the least inconvenience, and were well convinced, that the whole plant was very harmless; but whether it might not be a sign of enmity or defiance, in the same manner as many others are esteemed emblems of friendship, must remain in doubt.

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The tide was now so low, that the reef remained quite dry behind us, and a great number of the natives had walked over it to our boats, where they traded with the crew. Being in some measure surrounded by these people, the marines were placed alternately towards the shore and the sea, in order to present a front both ways; though it did not appear that the natives had the least intention of quarrelling with us. We conversed very freely with them, and their tongues ran on with such unremitted volubility, that we compared the noise about us, to the confused uproar in a great fair. Our astonishment therefore, may sooner be conceived than described, when this chattering ceased all at once, and a dead silence succeeded.—We looked at each other, we threw our eyes wildly about, and joined the wings of our *corps de garde*. The natives seemed to stand in expectation of some mischance; but by degrees seeing us quiet, they began to talk again, and in a few minutes, mutual confidence was restored. The circumstance which had given rise to this alarm was trifling in itself, but expressed the good disposition of the natives towards us. One of our boat's crew, had desired a native to shoot an arrow

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into the air as high as he could. The man very readily complied, and had drawn his bow, when some of his countrymen, recollecting that we might look upon this as an infringement of the peace, called out to him to stop, and alarmed all the people on the beach, by pronouncing a few words, which immediately produced universal silence, expressing extreme jealousy in a most dreadful manner, and affording a proper subject to exercise the talents of painters and poets. Affrighted countenances, full of anxiety and horrid suspense; many a wild stare, many a gloomy, mischievous look, and some undaunted steady glances; an infinite variety of attitudes; a characteristic difference in the manner of handling the arms; the scene, the groups of inhabitants, &c. all conspired to furnish the proper requisites for a good picture.

As soon as this alarm was over, our wood-cutters resumed their occupations, and the natives admired their skill. A few women now likewise came to our lines, but remained at some distance. They were of small stature, and had the most disagreeable features which we had observed in the South Sea. Those who were grown up, and probably married, had short pieces of a kind of cloth, or rather matting round their waists, reaching nearly to the knees; the rest had only a string round the middle with a whisp of straw; and the younger ones, from infancy to the age of ten years, went stark naked, like the boys of the same age. Some of
these

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these women had covered their heads with the orange powder of turmeric-root; some had daubed their face, and others their whole body with this colour, which on their dark skins had a most filthy effect. But with their countrymen it is probably esteemed an ornament, as the taste of mankind is astonishingly various. We did not observe, that these women had any finery in their ears, round their neck, or arms; for it seems it is fashionable in the island, only for the men to adorn themselves. Wherever that is the case, the sex is commonly oppressed, despised, and in a deplorable situation. They were seen with bundles on their backs, which contained their children, and had a most miserable appearance. The men seemed to have no kind of regard for them, would not permit them to come nearer; and as oft as we went towards them, the women ran away.

About noon a great part of the croud dispersed, probably to take their dinner. Captain Cook received an invitation from the chief, to accompany him to his dwelling in the woods, but declined it; and having continued on shore till one o'clock, we all re-imbarked in the best order, without any molestation from the natives, who remained on the beach till we were on board. M. de Bougainville had not been so fortunate at the Isle of Lepers; the natives were very friendly to appearance, till all his men were embarked; but a flight of arrows was then sent after them, and re-

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venge'd by a volley of musketry, which killed several natives. As these islanders live in fight of each other, and M. de Bougainville's visit was so recent, the natives with whom we had to deal, were probably apprised of the power of Europeans, and therefore acted with caution.

Immediately after dinner, captain Cook and my father went ashore on the north side of the harbour, in quest of our buoy, which the natives had conveyed thither, and which we saw on the beach by the help of our glasses. In the mean time the southern shore, on which we had landed in the morning, was entirely clear of the natives; but in the woods we heard the frequent squeaking of pigs, from whence it may be concluded that the natives possess great numbers of these animals. Soon after our boat's departure, several natives in their canoes came alongside to trade with us. They readily sold us their bows and arrows, clubs and spears, for old rags and other trifles, plying between the ship and the shore all the evening. Their canoes were small, not exceeding twenty feet in length, of indifferent workmanship, and without ornament, but provided with an outrigger. The number which came to the ship never amounted to more than fourteen, which seems to confirm that these people are no great fishermen.

Our boat returned before sunset, with the buoy which they had taken as soon as they landed, without any opposition on the part of the natives. Some trifling appendages
to

to it were lost, but these could easily be replaced. The inhabitants of that part traded with the captain and his company, selling their arms and ornaments for various trifles of no intrinsic worth. An old woman parted with two semi-transparent bits of selenites, cut into a conical shape, and connected at the pointed ends, by means of a ribbon made of leaves. The diameter of the broad end was about half an inch, and the length of each bit three quarters of an inch. She took it out of the hole in the cartilage of her nose, which was very broad, ugly, and smeared with black paint. Our people took great pains to obtain refreshments from the natives ; but notwithstanding all their signs, they did not bring a single article of food. Our goods, no doubt, did not seem valuable enough in their eyes, to be considered as an equivalent to eatables, which are always the real riches of mankind. Upon this plain principle the people of the South Sea always acted ; and from the value which they put on our goods, after they were acquainted with their uses, we can with a degree of certainty judge of their opulence, or the fertility of their country. From hence they still proceeded northward, towards the exterior point of the harbour. Here they found some bananas, bread-fruit trees, coco-palms, and other plants, separated by an enclosure ; and near them some dwellings of the natives, wretched hovels, of an inconsiderable size, and so low that they could hardly stand upright in them. They consisted of a roof thatched.

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thatched with palm-leaves, resting on a few posts. Here however they observed a great many hogs, and some common poultry. The natives seemed to be convinced that our people had no sinister intentions, and expressed much less curiosity than in the morning. Their numbers were inconsiderable in this place; and though they did not entirely approve of captain Cook's visit to their houses, they did not oppose it with perseverance. From hence our gentlemen proceeded farther towards the point, till they came in sight of the three islands to the eastward, of which they learnt the names. The largest, on which we had observed the volcano, was called Ambrym, the high peak Pa-oòm, and the southernmost Apèe. This good success encouraged them to point to the land on which they stood, and to enquire of the natives by what name that was distinguished. The name of Mallicollo, which they immediately received in answer, was so strikingly similar to Manicolo, which captain Quiros had received and preserved above 160 years ago, that they rejoiced to obtain such indisputable proof of his veracity. It appears from Quiros's account, that he never visited Mallicollo himself, but only received intelligence of it from the natives; however, that his Tierra del Espíritu Santo is a part of this group of islands, seemed at present to be very clear. Having obtained this information, they returned to their boats; but in their way one of them picked up an orange on the shore, which he shewed to the natives,

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They told him the name which it bears in their country, and thus gave another proof that the accounts of Quiros, relative to the productions of the lands discovered by him, are not void of foundation. We had found shaddocks in the Friendly Islands, but never met with oranges in any island of the Pacific Ocean before. The ideas of the natural riches of the island of Mallicollo were considerably raised after this confirmation of Quiros's reports. Our people rowed into the harbour near two miles, and found its bottom filled with mangroves, but could not meet with fresh water. A river probably flowed into the sea among these mangroves, but it was in vain to attempt a passage through the close tissue of their branches, which multiply out of every feed, without forming a separate tree. The evening was very hot, and they returned on board heartily tired. As they rowed along the shore, they heard the drums beating, and saw the natives dancing to the sound by their fires. Their music, and that which they made the preceding night, was not remarkable either for harmony or variety, but seemed to be of a more lively turn than that of the Friendly Islands.

During night several of our people tried to fish, and some of them were successful. One caught a shark nine feet long, which was now very acceptable, all our fresh provisions being entirely consumed, excepting a few yams, which were eaten instead of bread. Another took an Indian

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dian sucking-fish (*echeneis naucrates*) near two feet long ; and a third made prize of two large red fishes of the sea-bream kind (probably the *sparus erythrinus*, Linn.) one of which he kept for his messmates, and the other he presented to the lieutenants. The captain received a share of the shark, on which we feasted the next day, when the whole ship's company regaled themselves with a fresh meal. Sharks do not afford a very palatable food, but it was at all times preferable to salt provisions, and necessity taught us to relish it. This severe teacher reconciles the Greenlander to whale-blubber, and the Hottentot to filthy intestines ; and time makes these indelicate viands acceptable and delicious to their taste. This shark, when cut open, was found to have the bone-point of a poisoned arrow sticking in his head, having been shot quite through the skull. The wound was healed so perfectly, that not the smallest vestige of it appeared on the outside. A piece of the wood still remained sticking to the bony point, as well as a few fibres with which it had been tied on ; but both the wood and the fibres were so rotten, as to crumble into dust at the touch. Fishes therefore are not affected by these arrows, which we supposed to be poisoned.

The next morning we weighed the anchor and set sail, having scarcely had time sufficient to sketch a plan of the harbour, which was honoured with the title of Port Sandwich. Its situation, deduced from astronomical observations,

tions, is in $16^{\circ} 28'$ south lat. and $167^{\circ} 56'$ east long. We were becalmed before we could clear the reefs, and obliged to send our boats ahead to tow us out, which they performed very slowly and with great difficulty. In the mean time the natives came to us with all their fourteen canoes, and sold us great numbers of arrows of all kinds and some clubs. They made several trips between the ship and the shore, as they had done the preceding day, and seemed to be very eager to part with their arms for Taheitee cloth. We repeated our demand for provisions; but they would not listen to it, and only parted with what they could more easily spare or replace. Towards noon we got clear of the harbour, and left Mallicollo with the sea-breeze, which then freshened, standing over to Ambrrym, or the Island of Volcanoes. Whether we might have obtained some refreshments by staying a few days longer and improving our acquaintance with the natives, is very uncertain; for since they set no value on our iron-ware, we could offer no equivalent for their provisions.

The island of Mallicollo is about twenty leagues long from north to south, and the port which we had left lies in its south-east extremity. Its inland mountains are very high, clad with forests, and without doubt contain many fine springs, though we could not trace them between the trees. The soil, as far as we were able to examine it, is a rich and fertile mould, like that which covers the plains of

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the Society Islands ; and the vicinity of the volcano at Ambrrym gave us great room to suppose that Mallicollo is no stranger to the processes carried on in these natural laboratories. Its vegetable productions seem to be luxuriant and in great variety, and the useful plants not less numerous than in the islands we had before visited. Coco-nuts, bread-fruit, bananas, sugar-canes, yams, eddoes, turmeric, and oranges were seen on the island, and enumerated by the natives. Hogs and common poultry are their domestic animals ; to which we have added dogs, by selling them a pair of puppies brought from the Society Islands. They received them with strong signs of extreme satisfaction ; but as they called them hogs, (*broods*,) we were convinced that they were entirely new to them. We did not find any other quadruped during our short stay, nor is it probable that, on an island so far remote from continents, there should be any wild animals of that class. In the course of one day, and confined to a barren beach, it is not likely that we could form a more adequate idea of the animals than of the vegetables of this country. We saw enough, however, to be convinced, that the woods are inhabited by many species of birds, among which there are doubtless some which have as yet escaped the attention of naturalists.

The productions of Mallicollo are, however, less remarkable and striking at first sight than the race of its inhabitants. To judge of their numbers from the croud we saw

at Port Sandwich, I should conclude, that they are far from inconsiderable ; but considering the great size of the island, I cannot suppose it to be very populous. Fifty thousand is, I think, the greatest number we can admit ; and these are not confined to the skirts of the hills, as at Taheitee, but dispersed over the whole extent of more than six hundred square miles. We ought to figure their country to ourselves as one extensive forest: they have only begun to clear and plant a few insulated spots, which are lost in it, like small islands in the vast Pacific Ocean. Perhaps if we could ever penetrate through the darkness which involves the history of this nation, we might find that they have arrived in the South Sea much later than the natives of the Friendly and Society Islands. So much at least is certain, that they appear to be of a race totally distinct from these. Their form, their language, and their manners strongly and completely mark the difference. The natives on some parts of New Guinea and Papua seem to correspond in many particulars with what we have observed among the Mallicollese. The black colour and woolly hair in particular are characteristics common to both nations. If the influence of climate be admitted, which is so strongly defended by count Buffon, it offers another proof that Mallicollo has been but lately peopled *, since the interval of time has not been sufficient to work a change in the colour and hair of the inhabitants.

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* The reader will perceive that we only use this expression comparatively.

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But I am far from being convinced of this general and powerful influence of climates. I have only ventured out into the great field of probabilities, and am ready to quit my opinion as soon as another more just and more rational is offered. New Guinea and the islands adjacent, the only countries from whence we can expect some light on this subject, still remain unknown to us, not only in regard to their geographical situation, but more especially as to their inhabitants. From the voyagers who have visited that part of the world * it appears that many distinct tribes dwell in its different parts. But it is particularly to be remarked, that besides the black race, there are also some of a lighter colour, who, if we may judge from their customs, seem to be related to the natives of the Society and Friendly Islands. Some other tribes there are who may, in all probability, be a mixture of both races. The slender form of the Mallicollese is a character, as far as I know, peculiar to them and the New Hollanders; but that nation hath nothing in common with them in all other respects. Their custom of tying a rope very fast round their belly is still more singular, and would be fatal to a person unaccustomed from infancy to such an absurd ligature. The rope was as thick as a man's finger, and cut such a deep notch across the navel, that the belly seemed in a manner double, one part being above and the other below the rope. Their bracelets

* Dampier, Carteret, Bougainville.

which

which press the upper arm so closely, must have been put on while the natives are very young, and appear to have been contrived upon the same principle. The features of these people, though remarkably irregular and ugly, yet are full of great sprightliness, and express a quick comprehension. Their lips and the lower part of their face are entirely different from those of African Negroes; but the upper part, especially the nose, is of a very similar conformation, and the substance of the hair the same. The depression of their forehead may perhaps be artificial, as the heads of infants may be squeezed into all kinds of forms. On the continent of America there are many instances of nations who disfigure their heads to make them resemble the sun, the moon, or some other object. But, upon the whole, this figure of the forehead among the Mallicollese is not carried to excess, and does not remarkably encrease their ugliness.

The climate of Mallicollo, and the adjacent islands, is very warm, but perhaps not at all times so temperate as at Tahitee, because the extent of land is infinitely greater. However, during our short stay we experienced no unusual degree of heat, the thermometer being at 76° and 78° , which is very moderate in the torrid zone. Dress, in such a climate, is to be considered as an article of luxury, and cannot properly be placed among the indispensable necessities. At Mallicollo they have not yet attained that degree of opulence which could have suggested the invention of garments.

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garments. In their tufted groves they neither feel the scorching beams of a vertical sun, nor ever know the uncomfortable sensation of cold. Briars and shrubberies oblige them to take some precaution, and the impulses of nature towards the increase of the species, have suggested the most simple means of preserving the faculties and guarding against the dangers of mutilation, (see pag. 206.) We are too apt to look upon the principles which are early instilled into our mind by education as innate, and have frequently mistaken a moral sentiment for a physical instinct. From the contemplation of unpolished people, we find that modesty and chastity, which have long been supposed inherent in the human mind, are local ideas, unknown in the state of nature, and modified according to the various degrees of civilization. It is not likely that the Mallicollese have ever thought of banishing unseasonable ideas from the mind, by a contrivance which seems much more apt to provoke their desires. Nay, it is uncertain whether the scanty dress of their women owes its origin to a sense of shame, or to an artful endeavour to please.

The ideas of beauty seem to be more obvious, though singular and different among divers nations. The Mallicollese are not satisfied with the charms of their own person, but think that a stone hung in the nose, a bracelet, a necklace of shells, and a shining black paint, set them off to greater advantage. Their women, as far as we could observe,

observe, have no trinkets, but paint themselves with the yellow colour of turmeric, which has a peculiar aromatic smell. The natives of the Friendly Isles powder their hair and the women of Easter Island likewise paint their face and garments with it. It may therefore be employed, on account of its supposed virtues, rather than for ornament. The Mallicollise differ very remarkably from the lighter-coloured nation of the South Sea, by keeping their body entirely from punctures, which characterize all the various tribes of that race.

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Their food seems to be principally vegetable, since they apply themselves to agriculture. At times they may likewise feast on pork or fowls; and though we had no time to observe any implements of fishing, yet, as they have canoes, it may be supposed that they have not entirely neglected the produce of the ocean. Our short stay did not give us an opportunity of seeing any of their tools; but from the workmanship of their boats, and the construction of their houses, we have no great reason to admire their skill in the arts. Their island being wholly covered with forests, it must require a great deal of labour to cultivate a spot of ground sufficient for their support. The country itself appears very fertile; but the luxuriant growth of wild vegetables, easily conquers and destroys the more tender shoots of those which are planted. This being the case, it may serve to account for the custom of confining their limbs.

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to a small and slender form, by ropes, bracelets, &c. Such monstrous contrivances to pinch and contract the body, seem to be dictated by necessity, and in time may have been adopted as the marks of beauty. As their agriculture is so toilsome, it is plain they have not time to manufacture a dress, for which they have no immediate necessity. Repose and indolence are the favourite principles of small uncivilized societies, and necessity alone forces them to become industrious. We have observed that the Mallicollese pass away a part of their time with music and dancing. Their instruments are doubtless very simple; we heard no other than drums; and these, together with whistles or pipes, are most easily invented. The common transactions of domestic life are so quiet and regular, that human nature seems to require some excentric movement to animate it. At times to be extravagant in the motions and exercises of the body, to produce a variety of sounds from various substances, and to strain the vocal organs beyond their usual scale, are functions perhaps indispensibly necessary in the revolution of human life, to act as spurs or *stimuli*, and to sweeten the labours of the day.

The drums of the Mallicollese not only serve as a pastime, but, are likewise employed to sound an alarm in cases of danger. We have great reason to believe, that they are frequently involved in quarrels with the islanders in the neighbourhood; and it is not improbable, that living
dispersed

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dispersed throughout the island in small families, they frequently disagree amongst themselves. We never saw the Mallicollese without their arms, (except those who came into the captain's cabin); and it seems much more care and ingenuity has been bestowed on this part of their manufactures than upon any other. Their bows are strong, elastic, and nicely polished; their arrows well wrought; and those which we supposed to be poisoned, were very neatly ornamented. The custom of poisoning the arrows is a proof of their understanding; and the desire of revenge against unjust oppression, may have suggested it. Their small stature, and slender make, seem indeed to require some artifice to supply the place of strength; but it is at this moment doubtful, whether their arrows are really poisoned. The dog on which we made the experiment on the day of our arrival, recovered perfectly without any assistance, though he was afflicted with the most dreadful illness from eating part of a poisoned fish. Another experiment was tried in the sequel upon a different dog; an incision was made in his leg with a lancet, and the gummy substance, supposed to be the poison, was laid into it, and covered with a plaster. The dog was very lame a few days, from the swelling and festering of the wound; but gradually recovered like the first. The islanders of Santa Cruz*, who killed a number

* Egmont Island, of captain Carteret.—See Hawkesworth, vol. I. p. 576.

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of captain Carteret's men, seem, according to his description, to be very like the Mallicollese; and are likewise accused of having poisoned arrows *, by the Spanish navigator who first discovered that island. Their bows and arrows, according to captain Carteret, are, however, of a remarkable length †, and the latter pointed with flints. Quiros also mentions poisoned arrows among the natives in the Bay of St. Philip at St. Jago ‡; but from both instances it appears, that the supposed poison was not very efficacious. The wooden ruffle, which secures the arms of the Mallicollese against the recoil of the bow-string, seems to imply a frequent use of their bows. Besides the missile weapons, such as arrows and spears, they have also short clubs, seemingly for close engagement, and are thus well prepared for all occasions. Their behaviour towards us was in general harmless, but cautious. We received no invitations to stay with them; for they did not like the proximity of such powerful people, being probably accustomed to acts of violence and ill usage from the rest of their neighbours. In some of their countenances we thought we could trace a mischievous, ill-natured disposition; but we might mistake jealousy for hatred. It is probable, that being continually on their guard, and engaged in wars, they have some

* See Mendaña's voyage in Mr. Dalrymple's collection, vol. I. p. 78.

† The bows are six feet five inches, and the arrows four feet four inches.

‡ See Mr. Dalrymple's collection, vol. I. p. 135.

chiefs

chiefs and leaders in battle, who, like the commanders at New Zealand, are obeyed at the time of action. The only man whom we supposed to be a chief, at Mallicollo, did not appear to be respected; and it was only when he procured us some fresh water, that we could attribute to him any authority at all. Remarks on the government of a people are seldom to be made at the first interview, and therefore I only offer probabilities instead of facts. Their religion is entirely unknown to us, as well as the particular customs of domestic life; nor can it be supposed, that we could gather any intelligence concerning their diseases. We did not take notice of any sick person among them during our stay; however, according to Mr. de Bougainville's account, the natives on an adjacent island are subject to the leprosy in such a high degree, that he named it the Isle of Lepers.

The general character of the Mallicollese ought to be considered with a retrospect to their civilization. Dispersed into small tribes, who have frequent causes of dispute, it is not surprising that they are cautious and distrustful. At the same time, however, their behaviour towards us shewed, that they had no propensity to quarrel without a cause, but wished to give no offence; and were in general much displeased with a few individuals among themselves who attempted to infringe the peace. Green boughs, their signs of friendship, confirmed this good disposition. The ceremony of pouring water on their heads, is still more important, as it

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shews a great simlarity between them and the people of New Guinea. Dampier observed exactly the same sign of amity at Pulo Sabuda, on the western coast of New Guinea*. The short conversations which we had with the Mallicollese, proved them to be a people of quick perception; their senses are acute, and their intellects very open to improvement. From their amusements it may be concluded, that they are chearful and good-humoured; and if I may venture another conjecture, they only want the impulse of an ambitious individual to bring them into a higher state of civilization. After this detail, it is time to resume the thread of our voyage.

Having cleared the reefs of Port Sandwich, and standing towards the Isle of Ambrrym, we gradually came in sight of the south-east extremity of Mallicollo, where four or five small islands form a kind of bay. Ambrrym, on which the volcano is situated, appears to be upwards of twenty leagues in circuit. The centre of the island lies in $16^{\circ} 15'$ S. and $168^{\circ} 20'$ E. Pa-oom, the high peak to the south of it, is of an inconsiderable size, but we were dubious whether the land which we saw before, or to the westward of it, and which was of moderate height, is connected with it or not. The whole circuit of both parts, supposing them to form a single island, cannot exceed five leagues. The peak, according to our observations, lies in $16^{\circ} 25'$ S. and

* See Dampier's Voyages, vol. III. p. 186.

168° 30' E. Apee, the island to the south of this peak, is large, hilly, and of the same extent as Ambrrym, being nearly seven leagues long. Its middle is situated in 16° 42' S. and 168° 36' E. The numerous smokes which arose from all these islands, gave us reason to suppose, that the natives dress their victuals above ground, by an open fire. At the Society and Friendly Isles, where the inhabitants are accustomed to stew their food, by means of heated stones under the ground, we rarely perceived either smoke or fire.

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The fresh meal with which all our ship's company regaled themselves this day, was very near being fatal to some of them. All the lieutenants and their messmates, together with one of the mates, several midshipmen, and the carpenter, having eaten of the red sea breams (*Sparus erythrinus*) of which two had been caught, were in the space of a few hours, seized with violent symptoms of being poisoned. It began with great heat in the face, acute head-ache, severe vomiting, and diarrhæa; the arms, knees, and legs were so benumbed, that they could scarcely walk or stand; the salival glands were swelled, and a most copious discharge ensued; they were also troubled with acute pains, and spasms in the bowels. A hog, which had eaten of the garbage was seized with similar symptoms, swelled to a great size, and died at night. Several dogs on board, having received a share of the entrails, and some being fed
upon.

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upon part of the boiled fish, were affected in the same manner; they groaned most pitifully, had violent reachings, and could hardly drag their limbs along. A little favourite parroquet from the Friendly Isles, which familiarly hopped on its master's shoulder, having likewise tasted a morsel of the fish, died the next day. In a word, the joy of having obtained a fresh meal was suddenly converted into sorrow; and the only comfort in this misfortune was, that our surgeon had dined with the captain this day, and by that means escaped the fate of his messmates.

Sunday 24.

We still continued in sight of Mallicollo, Ambrrym, Apee, and Pa-oom, the next morning; but stood towards the southernmost island then in sight, and discovered on the 21st, which from the three hills upon it, was named Three-Hills Island (see p. 204.) We approached within half a mile of it, and observed it to be of the same nature with those already discovered. It was well wooded, and probably well inhabited; for some of the natives appeared on the shore, who resembled those of Mallicollo, and were armed like them with bows and arrows. A very extensive reef runs out from the south point of the island, with some rocks in it. The whole island seemed to be about five leagues in circuit; its greatest extent was from north-east to south-west; and according to astronomical observations, it is situated in $17^{\circ} 4'$ S. latitude, and $168^{\circ} 32'$ E. longitude. At noon we put about, and stood for several small islands

islands and broken lands, which appeared off the S. E. end of the island of Apee, and now lay to the N. E. of us. We likewise had sight of a peak to the S. E. and of some land beyond that, which seemed very large, though at a great distance. The number of islands in this group was very surprising; and their direction to the southward, gave us great hopes of continuing to make discoveries, which might gradually lead us back once more to New Zealand.

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We stood on towards these north-easterly lands, and came among them in the afternoon. They were of an inconsiderable size when compared to Mallicollo, Ambrrym, Apee, or even to Three-hills Island, and Pa-oom. Most of them, however, were inhabited; which circumstance we collected particularly in the evening, when we saw several fires, even on those which we had by day-light judged to have no inhabitants. After sunset we were becalmed for several hours in the midst of these isles; the darkness of the night, and several broken rocks close to us on all sides, rendered our situation extremely critical. The navigator, who means to explore new islands, and give an accurate account of their position, is often in danger of losing his ship: It is impossible for him to form a just conception of the coast, without approaching close to it; but he must necessarily be exposed to the dangers of a sudden storm, a sunken rock, or a swift current, which are sufficient;

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ficient, in a few moments, to destroy all his hopes of glory. Prudence and caution are very necessary in the conduct of every great enterprize ; but it seems, that in a voyage of discovery, as in every undertaking of consequence, a certain degree of rashness, and reliance on good fortune, become the principal roads to fame, by being crowned with great and undeserved success.

Monday 25.

These dangerous islands received the name of Shepherd's Isles; from the Rev. Dr. A. Shepherd, F. R. S. professor of astronomy in the university of Cambridge. We obtained a fresh breeze the same night, and tacked off and on till the next morning at day-break, when, being near the southernmost island, we stood away to the southward for the lands which we had discovered the day before. We passed to the eastward of Three-hills Island, towards two other isles a few leagues to the south of it, of a much smaller size, but covered with verdure and groves in the same manner. We sailed between one of them and a high columnar rock, which we named the Monument, from its remarkable shape. The surf which had beaten upon it, had worn several deep furrows and channels into it. It looked blackish, might be an hundred and fifty yards high, and was not wholly destitute of verdure. A great number of boobies and terns were seen flying about it, and seemed to have taken up their residence on it. The larger island, near which it was situated, was called Two-hills Island, by
captain

captain Cook, because it had only two elevations of any remarkable size.

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We now stood due south, towards the large land which appeared in that quarter, and which we had already noticed on the 24th. A canoe, with a triangular sail, was observed at a great distance, coming from the S. W. towards Three-hills Island. The natives of these different islands have therefore, in all likelihood, a friendly intercourse with each other, in the same manner as the different inhabitants of the Society and Friendly Islands. In the afternoon we had almost made the southern island, which now appeared to consist of two; and were preparing to pass to windward of both, being near the easternmost of them, when the breeze suddenly failed us, and we were carried to the west by the tide or current at a great rate. Our situation this night was no less dangerous than on the preceding, with this difference only, that the moon shone very bright, and we could judge of the quick advances which we made towards the western island. Its northernmost point was of a great height, rocky, black, and almost perpendicular, having only a narrow beach, and a few scattered rocks at the bottom. We remained in the most dreadful suspense till near ten o'clock, as the current was so strong, that hoisting out our boats would scarcely have availed us any thing. The ship's head, her stern, or her broad-side, were by turns directed towards the shore, on which we heard the surf breaking

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with a much more dreadful sound than it had ever had before, when unconnected with the ideas of immediate danger ; at last we fortunately drifted clear of the point at a short distance.

Tuesday 26.

The next morning a gentle breeze sprung up, with which we advanced towards the land again. We now ran within the easternmost island, which, though it was not above eight or nine miles in circuit, was however inhabited, many of the people running along shore to gaze at us, with bows, arrows, and darts in their hands. This isle had a hill of moderate height in its centre, which appeared to be destitute of woods in most parts, the cultivated lands and groves lying at its foot and on its first slope. They consisted of coco-palms, bananas, and various other trees ; amongst which we discerned a number of small huts, and on the beach, several canoes hauled ashore. The land opposite to the west was about four or five leagues distant from it, and now likewise appeared to consist of two islands. One of these to the north, the same on which we were near being lost, was small, not above twelve or fifteen miles in circumference, but of moderate height, like the former, and with much the same aspect. To the south of it, the main island appeared, which extended no less than ten leagues from N. W. to S. E. It was of a moderate height, like the two others near it, but very gently sloping in all parts, and presented to the eye many beautiful prospects. Thick groves, and
extensive

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extensive tracts of clear ground, were very agreeably varied, and the latter had a rich yellowish colour, which exactly resembled the golden corn-fields of Europe. We all agreed that this island was one of the finest we had hitherto seen in the new group, and seemed to be well situated for the purpose of an European settlement. We kept at a considerable distance from it; but it appeared to us to be more thinly inhabited than those which we had left to the northward. This circumstance would facilitate the establishment of a colony; and if the spirit of philanthropy could ever animate the planters, they would here have an opportunity to become the benefactors of the natives. From what we observed at Mallicollo, this race of men is very intelligent, and would readily receive the improvements of civilization. There appeared to be a bay towards the N. W. end of the island, which we did not examine, on account of several small islands and reefs lying before it to the eastward. It appeared to form a deep indenture on the shore, and to be more accessible from the westward. Captain Cook named this extensive island Sandwich, that to the north Hinchinbrook, and the other to the east Montagu. The middle of Sandwich Island lies in $17^{\circ} 40'$ S. lat. and $168^{\circ} 30'$ E. long.

We ran to the south-eastward all the afternoon and night; but at day-break, the next morning, another island was seen ahead, about fourteen leagues distant, Sandwich

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being still faintly in sight, nearly at the same distance. Our ships now perfectly resembled an hospital; the poisoned patients were still in a deplorable situation; they continued to have gripes, and acute pains in all their bones: in the day time they were in a manner giddy, and felt a great heaviness in their heads; at night, as soon as they were warm in bed, their pains redoubled, and robbed them entirely of sleep. The secretion of *saliva* was excessive; the skin peeled off from the whole body, and pimples appeared on their hands. Those who were less afflicted with pain, were much weaker in proportion, and crawled about the decks, emaciated to mere shadows. We had not one lieutenant able to do duty; and as one of the mates, and several of the midshipmen were likewise ill, the watches were commanded by the gunner and the other mates. The dogs which had unfortunately fed upon the same fish, were in a still worse condition, as we could not give them any relief. They groaned and panted most piteously, drank great quantities of water, and appeared to be tortured with pain. Those which had eaten of the entrails were infinitely more affected than the rest. One of these poor creatures was doomed to be a martyr, being the same upon which we tried the Mallicollese arrows; however, he luckily got the better of both these attacks, and was brought to England. It is remarkable, that captain Quiros complains of a sort of fish, which he calls pargos, that poisoned great part of his crew,

crew, in the bay of St. Philip and St. James. Nothing is more probable, than that it was of the same species, pargos being the Spanish name of the sea-bream (*pagrus*.) It is to be suspected, at the same time, that these fishes are not always poisonous, but, like many species in the West and East Indies, may acquire that quality, by feeding on poisonous vegetables. The circumstance, that the intestines were more poisonous than the rest, seems to confirm this supposition; the greatest part of the venom remaining in the *primæ viæ*, whilst only a small part was carried into the muscles, by the chyle and blood.

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We had had very mild weather after leaving Mallicollo, but the trade-wind had blown fresh from time to time. At present, however, being in sight of this new island, we were stopped by light airs and faint breezes. All the next day we lay becalmed, and rolled about very uncomfortably, being set to the northward several leagues by a current. In the evening we discovered another island very far off to the south-eastward, of which for the present we took no notice. The day after we obtained a breeze towards noon, which continued till the next day in the evening, and brought us within six leagues of the land. In the afternoon one of the dogs, less affected with the poison of the fish than the rest, being quite recovered, we determined to try another experiment with the poison of the Mallicollese arrow. An incision was made with a lancet in his thigh, and the re-

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sinous substance sticking on the bony point of the arrow, as well as the green earthy stuff which lodged in the compartments formed by the coco-nut fibres, were scraped off, and laid into the wound, covered with a plaster, in order to make the experiment as fair as possible. The dog, as I have already mentioned, recovered as quickly as if nothing had been laid into the wound.

Sunday 31.

The next morning it was absolutely calm again, and many of our sailors observed, that the island before us was certainly enchanted, because our attempts to come near it had hitherto failed. At present we saw the other island to the south, which had been discovered on the 28th, more distinctly than before. The nearer island seemed to be less fertile and agreeable than those which we had hitherto discovered; it seemed, however, to be inhabited, which we concluded on seeing a great smoke rise from it. Our situation was the more disagreeable, as it was tantalizing to be in sight of land, and not to be able to approach it. Notwithstanding its supposed barrenness, which precluded the hope of refreshments, we were all very desirous of being better acquainted with it. We never felt the tediousness of being confined to the ship more severely, nor ever wished more eagerly to have intercourse with human creatures. The company of savages, and an opportunity of contemplating their manners, dwellings and plantations, were at present, in our estimation, desirable objects. In the after-
noon

noon two sharks were caught, which swam about the ship, attended by pilot and sucking-fishes. One of these huge voracious animals seemed to be a species of epicure, having in his maw no less than four young turtles, of eighteen inches in diameter, two large cuttle-fishes, and the feathers and skeleton of a booby; but though he was well fed, he did not disdain a piece of salt pork, with which we baited our hook. The sailors had no sooner hauled them on deck, than every one drew his knife, and in a few moments divided them into small pieces, which they hastened to dress, and to devour. One of the sharks making some resistance in hauling up, was shot dead by our officers, who were equally concerned with the rest of their shipmates to prevent his escape. In this manner we revenged the cause of the whole submarine creation. Salt provisions are more loathsome in hot climates than every where else, which is partly owing to the raging thirst they occasion. As we had lived upon salt meat since we left Namoka, it may be easily imagined that no shark was ever more delicious to our taste. A faint breeze sprung up at night, with which we proceeded towards the land once more. We discerned a single rock the next morning lying off its north end; at the distance of a few leagues; and as we approached, found the island less barren than we had at first supposed. Towards ten o'clock, we were most dreadfully alarmed by a fire in the ship. Confusion and horror appeared in all our faces,

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faces, at the bare mention of it; and it was some time before proper measures were taken to stop its progress: for in these moments of danger, few are able to collect their faculties, and to act with cool deliberation. The mind which unexpected and imminent danger cannot ruffle for a time, is one of the scarcest phenomena in human nature; no wonder then, that it was not to be met with among the small number of persons to whom the ship was entrusted. To be on board of a ship on fire, is perhaps one of the most trying situations that can be imagined; a storm itself, on a dangerous coast, is less dreadful, as it does not so entirely preclude all hopes of escaping with life. Providentially, the fire of this day was very trifling, and extinguished in a few moments. Our fears suggested that it was in the sail-room; but we soon found, that a piece of Taheitee cloth, carelessly laid near the lamp in the steward's room, had taken fire, and raised a quantity of smoke, which gave the alarm. In proportion as we advanced towards the land, we discerned fine woods upon it, interspersed with glades and plantations on the very summits of the hills. A number of coco-palms were likewise observed upon it, which had not however that noble appearance, by which we distinguished them in other countries.

In the afternoon we came up with the west side of the island, and running close to the shore, we observed several small beaches, at the foot of steep hills, covered with plantations.

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tations. These chiefly consisted of bananas, and were confined in neat enclosures, near which we also noticed several houses like sheds. Thirty or forty natives were seen running along the shore, armed with bows and arrows, as well as spears. They looked very swarthy at a distance, and resembled the people of Mallicollo. Some women were observed among them, who wore a kind of petticoat, apparently made of leaves and straw, which descended to the mid-leg, or sometimes nearly to the ankles; the men on the contrary were naked, like the Mallicollese. We entered a kind of open bay, where the natives of both sexes waded a good way into the water, and called to us, to all appearance, with very friendly gestures. We stood across the bay, where it was not thought proper to anchor. It was growing dark when we opened the southernmost point, and saw the coast stretching to the east. As the wind was falling again, we did not attempt to stand in shore any longer, but rather endeavoured to keep off during night, for fear of being set towards it by the current. Every morning and evening, at sun-rise and sun-set, our sailors washed the decks from one end to the other, to prevent the heat from drying them up too much, and making them leaky. This evening one of the marines, who was drawing water on the ship's side, for this purpose, had the misfortune to fall over-board. He was not able to swim; however, by bringing the ship to instantly, and throwing a

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number of ropes over-board, one of which he seized, we succeeded in our endeavours to save him. The poor fellow was immediately conducted between decks, by his comrades the marines, being much weakened by the efforts he had made to save himself by keeping fast hold of the rope, as well as the sudden fear of death. They shifted his clothes, and gave him a dram or two of brandy to revive the animal spirits, treating him with peculiar tenderness, the result of an *esprit du corps*, to which sailors are at present utter strangers.

Tuesday 2.

The calms which had so long persecuted us, were not yet at an end. Our ship lay like a log on the water all night, and the next day being gradually drifted into the bay which we had passed the day before, the boats were hoisted out, and sent in quest of anchorage. They had no soundings till they came near the shore, but there had found twenty fathom, at the distance of three cables lengths (six hundred yards.) The natives were seen running to the beach again, but our people held no converse with them; for captain Cook seeing a breeze spring up, made the signal for them to return, and hoisted them in again. The cannon which was fired on the occasion, seemed to have no particular effect on the natives, who were doubtless utterly unacquainted with our arms, and with Europeans.

Wednesday 3.

We sailed round the N. W. point of the island, and in the morning advanced towards the single rock, which we had noticed

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noticed before. A very remarkable mountain with a double summit, which had some resemblance to a faddle, lay on the island just abreast of this rock, and seemed to be of great height, even though the rest of the island had a considerable elevation. The detached rock appeared to be covered with wood, and our ship being greatly in want of fuel, two boats were hoisted out and sent towards it. The hopes of making some botanical acquisitions, engaged us to embark in one of these boats. The distance which had been supposed trifling, was found to be near five miles ; but after rowing all this space, we were wholly disappointed. An enormous surf broke upon the rock on all sides, which rendered the landing absolutely impracticable. In vain we rowed all round it, casting many a longing look at the verdure and trees with which we saw it covered. A large bat, and some small birds were observed flying through its bushes ; and a number of fish swam among the broken rocks ; but the former did not come within musket-shot, and the others refused to take our hooks. Returning back to the ship we caught a water-snake (*coluber laticaudatus*, Linn.) of the same sort which had been observed so plentiful on one of the low isles off Maria Bay, in Tonga-Tabboo. (See vol. I. p. 478.)

After returning on board, a gentle breeze sprung up, and we stood into a kind of bay, close under the Saddle-peak, to the westward of it. We came in towards evening,

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and found the bay very extensive, above eight miles wide, but not above two deep. The Saddle which forms a kind of peninsula, lies on its east side, and shelters it from the trade-wind, being very steep towards the point, but gradually sloping into lesser hills towards the bottom of the bay. Every part of the shore was well cultivated between the wild groves; and every plantation seemed to be enclosed in very neat fences of reed, exactly resembling those which we had observed at the Friendly Isles. We dropped an anchor about a quarter of a mile from shore, having a low point a-head of us, behind which there appeared to be a harbour. The natives lined the shore in great crouds; some of them swam off, and came within hail, but no nearer; crying out and screaming aloud to us. They appeared at a distance to resemble the Mallicollese, and were swarthy; one of them however, had reddish hair, and was fairer than the rest. It was remarkable that not a single canoe appeared, either on the water, or hauled ashore; though we can hardly suppose so fine an island to be destitute of boats. As it was growing dark, all the swimmers returned to the shore, and made several fires in their plantations. Our provision of fresh water being very low, and that which we filled at Namoka being very bad, we rejoiced to have found a place, where the appearance of the country, gave us the greatest hopes of meeting with a fresh supply, not only of this necessary article, but of all sorts
of

of refreshments. All those who had been poisoned by the red fish at Mallicollo, were not yet wholly recovered, but felt their pains returning every night, their teeth loose, and their gums and palate excoriated. They likewise hoped to get rid of the remains of their tedious sickness, by making some stay on this island, and recruiting their strength with wholesome fresh food, to which they had long been strangers. But all our expectations proved abortive and premature.

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Early in the morning, captain Cook ordered two boats to be properly armed and manned, and commanding himself in one, and entrusting the other to the care of the master, went in search of a convenient watering-place. He first rowed towards the shore directly abreast of the ship, where a number of natives not less than sixty, were assembled on the beach. As soon as he was near the shore, some of the natives came into the water, round the boats, where the captain distributed to them nails, medals, Taheitee cloth, &c. with which they seemed vastly delighted. He soon put off, and rowed along the shore, more ahead of the ship, round the low point which I have already mentioned, the natives running along in the same direction. The boats having got round the point, which might be about three quarters of a mile off, continued out of sight near an hour. In the mean time, the natives were observed running towards the point from all parts, whilst a great number

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number sat down opposite the ship, gazing at it with the greatest attention. At once we heard the discharge of some muskets, and an irregular fire kept up for some time. Upon this alarm, another boat was instantly equipped, and sent to the assistance of the former, and a swivel shot directed over the point. A great gun was likewise brought upon the fore-castle, and fired off towards the hills. This struck a panic into the inhabitants in our sight, who all hastened to screen themselves in the bushes; many were seen running out of the plantations on the hills, roused by the sound, and hurrying away again, as soon as they beheld their countrymen put to flight. We also saw several dragging a dead or wounded man up one of the hills, from the place where we heard the fire of our boats. In a little time the captain returned in one boat, while the two others continued to sound in the bay. One of our seamen was brought into the ship with a wound in the cheek and another in the wrist; and we had the following account from captain Cook and those who accompanied him, concerning this unfortunate attack. The boats had no sooner rowed round the point than they found a good landing-place, where the captain and another person stepped ashore. He found several hundred natives armed with bows and arrows, clubs, and long spears. Their stature was of the middle size, and much superior to that of the Mallicollese; they were indeed nearly of the same
sturdy

swarthy hue, but better limbed and better featured. They went stark naked, with a rope only about the middle, and were for the rest to the full as indecent in the eyes of Europeans as the Mallicollese. Black paint and ruddle were likewise not spared on some of their faces; their hair was black, very curly or frizzled, but not woolly in all persons alike, and in a great quantity. Some, however, had reddish hair, and all had strong black beards.

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Captain Cook began with distributing presents to several of the natives, and particularly to a man who appeared to have some authority over the rest. Having expressed by signs that he wanted fresh water and other provisions, the chief sent away some men, and continued to converse by signs. In a short time the men returned, bringing a hollow bamboo filled with fresh water, a few coco-nuts, and the root of a yam. Our people understood from their gestures, that they had fetched the water at a little distance, but it seemed the natives were not inclined to let them walk thither to examine it. Their numbers encreasing every moment, the captain re-embarked, and ordered his boat to be pushed off. One of the natives immediately seized an oar, but another took it out of his hand and threw it back towards the boat. Some then took hold of the gang-board, which the sailors had neglected to secure, and hauled the boat back to the shore, whilst others came into the water
and

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and seized the boat itself, taking out two other oars. The chief stood near the boat, and seemed to direct this whole manœuvre. Captain Cook levelled his musket at the natives, but here, as at Savage Island, (see pag. 166.) the piece missed fire several times. The natives seeing him take aim, and readily conceiving that what he held in his hand was a weapon, drew their bows and poised their spears. A volley of arrows was directed at our people, and several spears were thrown into the boat. One of them, without any carving and perfectly blunt, wounded a seaman in the check. Captain Cook, seeing the lives of his people in danger, ordered them to fire, but it was some time before any of them could discharge their muskets. The first discharge killed two natives, who fell close to the boat. The rest, still undismayed, ran back a little at first, but returned briskly to the charge, throwing stones and shooting arrows at our people. The other boat likewise fired upon them, but only two or three of their muskets went off; however, they also killed and wounded some other natives. It is remarkable, that though the best flints are to be had in England, and though government allows the highest price for them to the contractors, yet are our troops supplied with the very worst flints by these people, who use every means to amass a fortune at the expence of the public. Some attention ought to be paid to an article, upon which the lives
of

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of many thousand subjects, nay often the success of engagements, in great measure depends *. An arrow hit the master on the naked breast, but being entirely spent, it did not even fetch blood. It consisted of a reed, armed with a long point of black wood, which was jagged or bearded with many indentures on one side. Some of the natives who were wounded crawled upon all fours into the bushes. When our swivels and cannon were fired from the ship, the whole croud dispersed; some, however, hid themselves behind a sandy elevation, which served as a breast-work, from whence they continued to annoy our people, who for some time amused themselves to fire at them as often as their heads appeared. At last, captain Cook seeing a third boat come to his assistance returned on board, and ordered the other two to sound the bay. From his account of this unhappy dispute, Mr. Hodges has invented a drawing, which is meant as a representation of his interview with the natives. For my own part, I cannot entirely persuade myself that these people had any hostile intentions in detaining our boat. The levelling of a musket at them, or rather at their chief, provoked them to attack our crew. On our part this

* It has been observed by foreigners, who have been spectators of military manœuvres, abroad as well as in Hyde-Park, that upon a company's firing several rounds, six private men at least retire behind the lines to draw or to fire their muskets, which did not go off before. This singular circumstance is not owing to any defect in the locks, but to the badness of the flints. All foreign troops are in that respect superior to the British.

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manœuvre was equally necessary ; but it is much to be lamented that the voyages of Europeans cannot be performed without being fatal to the nations whom they visit.

After breakfast we weighed the anchor, and prepared to stand farther into the bay, our boats having found convenient anchorage nearer to the watering-place. All the western coast of the bay was covered with thousands of palms, which had a beautiful effect, and appeared to be different from the coco-palm. We soon came in sight of the place where the engagement had happened. A few natives who stood here and there on the shore, ran into the woods on seeing the ship. We saw the two oars which they had taken out of the boat stuck in the ground and leaning on the bushes ; but it was not thought proper to send a boat in quest of them, though the coast was clear. After we had entertained hopes of coming to an anchor again for some time, the captain gave orders to put about, and stood to the eastward round the saddle-peak, which was now called Traitor's Head. We tacked all the morning, in order to weather that point, but could not accomplish it till three o'clock in the afternoon, when we opened a bay immediately to the eastward of it. This bay extended very far inland, and seemed to contain several snug creeks or harbours. The lands on both sides were covered with the thickest woods, which had a most fertile and enchanting appearance. To the south, the land sloped very gently, offering

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fering a fine exposure of vast extent almost wholly cultivated, and in all likelihood rich in vegetable productions. We were just abreast of this bay, and perhaps in doubt whether we should not go in, when the island appeared in sight again to the south, which we had already discovered on the 28th of July. Captain Cook now resolved to relinquish the nearer island, and to proceed to the more distant one, in order to leave as little unexplored as possible. The breeze was very fresh, and we left the island with great rapidity. It is situated in $18^{\circ} 48'$ south latitude, and $169^{\circ} 20'$ east longitude*, and is nearly of a square figure, which measures at least 30 leagues in circuit. We stood southerly towards the new island, with studding sails set, which had been in disuse with us ever since we arrived among this group of isles. Several fires appeared upon the island at night, one of which blazed up from time to time like the flame of a volcano.

At day-break we saw a low island to the north-eastward of us, having passed close to it during the night, and a high one nearly east of us, at the distance of eight or nine leagues. The low island was covered with coco-palms, but we could not determine whether it consisted of a circular reef or not. The large island, towards which we still

Friday 5.

* We have given it the name of JRROMANGA, for, as we afterwards learnt on an adjacent island, this is the name by which it is known among the natives. See the next chapter.

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directed our course, extended from N. W. to S. E. and consisted of a high range of mountains. Towards the southeastern extremity, at the end of a secondary range of hills, we discovered a volcano, of which we had really seen the fire at night. It was a low hill, much lower than any in the same range, and of a conical shape, with a crater in the middle. Its colour was reddish brown, consisting of a heap of burnt stones, perfectly barren, but it offered a very striking sight to our eyes. A column of heavy smoke rose up from time to time, like a great tree, whose crown gradually spread as it ascended. Every time that a new column of smoke was thus thrown up, we heard a very deep rumbling sound like thunder, and the columns followed each other at very short intervals. The colour of the smoke was not always the same; it was white and yellowish in general, but sometimes of a dirty reddish grey, which we suspected to be partly owing to the fire in the crater which illuminated the smoke and ashes. The whole island, except the volcano, is well wooded, and contains abundance of fine coco-palms; its verdure, even at this season, which was the winter of these regions, was very rich and beautiful.

After eight o'clock we hoisted out our boats, and the master went to sound a harbour, which appeared in view to the east of the volcano. They ran in very fast, and were followed by two canoes of the natives, which put off from different parts of the coast; another canoe was seen at
a distance

a distance sailing along shore. In a little time they made signals for the ship to follow. We stood on into the harbour, which has a narrow entrance, and as we kept a man constantly sounding in the chains, we were greatly alarmed when our soundings suddenly decreased from six fathom to three and a half; however, an instant afterwards we had four, five, and more fathoms. It appeared that we had providentially passed over a rock before the entrance, on which we had run the greatest risk of striking. The harbour was a small snug basin, where we let go our anchor in four fathom, surrounded by a number of natives in their canoes.

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This was the only anchorage where we made any stay in all the extensive cluster of islands which we had now discovered. We provided our ship with wood and water, but did not obtain any refreshments worth mentioning. The principal advantage which we derived from putting in here, consisted in a few remarks on a race of people, in a great measure distinct from all the tribes which were known to us before. But while we were entertained with various new and striking objects, it was very disagreeable to be tantalized with the sight of wholesome vegetable and animal food, with which the natives did not choose to supply us.

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C H A P. II.

Account of our stay at Tanna, and departure from the New Hebrides.

Friday 5.

HAVING brought the ship to an anchor, we were well pleased to see the natives coming off in their canoes from different parts of the bay, and paddling round about us at a little distance. Their behaviour at first was very irresolute; though all were armed with spears, clubs, bows and arrows. One or two came close to us, and sent a yam, or a coco-nut, upon the deck, for which we made them presents of our goods. In a few moments the number of canoes encreased to seventeen; some of them contained twenty-two men; others ten, seven, five, and the smallest only two; so that the number of people about us exceeded two hundred. They pronounced several words to us from time to time, and seemed to propose questions; but if we uttered a word of the Taheitee, or Mallicollo dialect, they repeated it, without seeming to have the least idea of it. By degrees they were familiarized with our appearance, and ventured close along side. We had hung a net overboard astern, containing salt meat for dinner, which the sea water was to freshen, as we did every day; one of the natives,

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tives, an old man, seized this net, and was about to detach it; but being called to, he instantly desisted. However, another shook his dart at us upon this occasion, and still another adjusted an arrow to his bow, taking aim by turns at different persons on the quarter-deck. Captain Cook imagined that the discharge of a cannon might be of great service, to prevent any unhappy differences with the natives, by apprizing them of our power. He made sign accordingly to the canoes to paddle aside, in order to keep clear of the shot. It was remarkable that they were not offended by this sign, which had the air of authority, but readily dropped astern. The gun was fired towards the shore, and the two hundred people leaped out of their canoes into the sea in the same instant. Only a single young man, very well made, and of a very open friendly countenance, remained standing in his canoe, without the least marks of surprize or fear, but looking with a mixture of mirth and contempt at his affrighted countrymen. They presently recovered their station in their canoes, and seeing no ill consequences had ensued after our bravado, conversed very loud with each other, and seemed to laugh at their own fears. They kept off however at a little distance, and did not shew any hostile inclinations.

Captain Cook did not like the ship's birth; but resolved to carry her deeper into the bay. To that purpose, a boat was sent off with an anchor, and our people proceeded in
their

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their operation without being molested. The buoy, however, which belonged to our first anchor, appeared so tempting, that an old Indian, who was quite bald, put off in his canoe, and endeavoured to carry it away, at first by towing it, but afterwards by detaching it from its rope. As soon as we perceived that he was seriously at work about it, captain Cook called to him to desist, but he was not able so much as to divert his attention. The captain fired a musket loaded with small shot at him; and some of the shot having struck him, he immediately threw the buoy out of his canoe. A few moments after, however, feeling himself very little hurt, he returned once more to complete his former undertaking. A musket, with a ball, was now fired rather short of him into the sea; upon this he left the buoy, and came long side to present us with a coco-nut. There was something bold and generous in his behaviour, which I think plainly indicated, that he offered us his friendship, after making trial of our spirit. Our boat having laid the anchor in the ground with another buoy, came on board, and we began to warp in by it. The buoy tempted another native, notwithstanding the correction which his countryman had received. He was afraid of taking it up; but paddled several times towards it, and as often turned back again. At last the temptation prevailed, and he began to haul it into his canoe. A large musketoon was fired at him, and the ball fell close to him, striking the water several times,

times, and at last dropping on the beach. A number of people stood near the place, and immediately ran off; but the man in the canoe returned again to the buoy. Another musketoon, a swivel, and last of all a cannon were fired, which terrified him and all the natives both on the water and on shore, without doing them any hurt.

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We brought the ship deeper into the bay, after this little disturbance; but in warping her in, she struck aground several times, being drawn out of the deep channel. The water was very smooth, and the bottom covered with mud, so that she could receive no material damage, and the fault was easily redressed. We then went to dinner very quietly, and afterwards proceeded to the beach in three boats, well manned, especially by all our marines. The opportunity seemed very favourable, as the number of natives in sight was very small, and not likely to give us any trouble. A few of them, who were seated in the grass along the beach, ran off upon our landing, but returned as soon as we beckoned to them. On our left, or to the westward, we saw a body of about a hundred and fifty, well armed, who advanced towards us with the green branches of coco-palm, which they presented us in sign of peace. We distributed medals, Taheitee cloth, and iron ware, to conciliate their good will; and afterwards exchanged these articles for a few coco-nuts which they brought us, after we had pointed to the trees, and made our wants intelligible by different

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gestures. One of our first requests was, that they should sit down ; which was imperfectly complied with : another, that they should not transgress a line which we drew on the sand ; and to this they readily assented. We presently found a pond of very palatable fresh water, and made signs to the natives, that we came to provide ourselves from thence, and that we also desired leave to cut some trees. They immediately pointed out several wild trees which we might cut, only excepting the coco-palms, of which innumerable quantities covered the shore. We filled two small barrels with water, and cut down a few trees, to shew in what manner we intended to proceed ; and the natives appeared to be satisfied. Our marines were however drawn up, and the least motion they made so terrified the inhabitants, that they ran off to a considerable distance, only a few old men remaining near us. We desired them to lay down their arms ; and even in this demand, which was in itself unreasonable, the greatest part acquiesced. Their stature was of the middle size, and their persons infinitely stronger, and better proportioned, than those of the Mallicollese. Their colour was a dark or chestnut brown, with a very swarthy mixture. Like the natives of Mallicollo, they went stark naked, having only a string round the belly, which did not cut their body in such a shocking manner, as we had observed at that island. We saw some women at a distance, who did not seem to be so ugly as those of Mallicollo,

and

and wore a kind of petticoat, which descended below the knee. Two girls had each a long spear in their hand, but did not venture nearer than the rest. We collected a number of words from these people, among which, far the greatest part were entirely new to us; but sometimes they expressed the same idea by two words, one of which was new, and the other corresponded with the language of the Friendly Islands; from whence we had reason to conclude, that they have some neighbours of the other race, who speak that language. They also told us, that they call their own island Tanna, a word which signifies "*earth*" in the Malay language. This last we looked upon as a great acquisition; for the indigenous name of a country is always permanent. We made but a short stay among these people, and returned on board as soon as we had filled our casks. We now thought the peace concluded, and every difficulty conquered; but we found matters in a very different situation the next morning. Our intercourse with them had hitherto been peaceable, because they did not feel themselves a match for us; but it seems they were very far from purposing to give us free admittance into their country. They looked upon us as invaders, and appeared jealous of their property, and resolved to defend it.

We saw the flame of the volcano in the evening, blazing up, with an explosion once in five minutes or thereabouts. The transactions of the day prevented my speaking of this

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wonderful phenomenon, though it was in continual agitation. Some of the explosions resembled very violent claps of thunder, and a rumbling noise continued for half a minute together. The whole air was filled with smoky particles and with ashes, which occasioned much pain when they fell into the eye. The decks, rigging, and all parts of the ship were covered with black shierl ashes in the space of a few hours, and the same sand, mixed with small cinders and pumice stones, covered the sea-shore. The distance of this volcano from our harbour was five or six miles; but several hills lay between, so that we only saw its summit, which threw up the smoke from a crater, consisting of several ragged points.

Saturday 6.

Early in the morning, the ship was moored still more conveniently and nearer to the shore. The natives appeared at sun-rise coming out of their groves and consulting together on the beach. In order to make the sequel more intelligible, it will be necessary to give a slight sketch of the appearance of the country which enclosed the harbour. The point which forms its eastern shore is very low and flat, but presently rises into a level hill, about fifteen or twenty yards high, which is wholly laid out in plantations. This encompasses the eastern and southern shore of the bay, being near three miles long, and extending several miles inland to the sea on the other side. Where this flat hill ends, a fine plain covered with plantations runs to the southward, bounded.

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bounded by several ranges of pleasant hills, of which the nearest are of easy ascent. To the west this plain, as well as the whole bay itself, is enclosed by a steep hill, three or four hundred yards high, which is nearly perpendicular in most places. A narrow beach of large broken shingles and stones runs along the western shore, but a perpendicular rock separates it from the southern beach. This last is very broad, and consists of a firm black sand; it bounds the plain, and is the same where we cut wood and filled our casks with water. A beach of coral rock and shell sand continues from thence along the foot of the flat hill quite to the eastern point of the harbour. The flat hill does not lie close to this beach, but a space of level land, thirty or forty yards wide, covered with groves of palms, extends to its foot. The whole south-east corner of the bay is filled with a flat reef of coral, which is overflowed at low water.

A few canoes put off one by one from the shore, and each brought a coco-nut or two and a cluster of bananas for sale, which they readily exchanged for Taheitee cloth. As soon as the natives in them had disposed of their cargo, they returned to the shore and brought off another. One of them offered captain Cook his club, and, having agreed to take a piece of cloth for it, it was let down into his canoe. However, he had no sooner received this cloth, than he took no farther trouble to fulfil his agreement. The captain spoke to him several times, by such signs as the

man

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man seemed to understand, but all in vain; a musket, charged with small shot was fired into his face, upon which he, and two men who were with him, betook themselves to paddling with the greatest agility. Their canoe was pursued from deck by several shot from the ship's musketoons; one of them fell so near them, and rebounded so often from the water, that they all jumped into the sea and swam ashore. A great concourse of natives was presently observed near the spot where they landed, to whom they probably related their story. A few minutes after, a single man came off to us in a canoe, with some sugar-canes, coco-nuts, and yams. He was an old man, of a low stature, but had a very friendly countenance, which announced his good disposition. He had been active the preceding afternoon to preserve the peace with our people, and his arrival was therefore the more acceptable to us. Captain Cook made him a present of a complete dress of the best red Taheitee cloth, with which the old man was highly pleased. He had in his canoe two large clubs, none of these people ever going without arms; but captain Cook, being in one of our boats along side, took them out and threw them into the sea, making signs to the man, that all his countrymen on shore should lay down their arms. The old fellow liked this proposal exceedingly, and seeming entirely contented with the loss of his clubs, returned to the shore, where we observed him parading for some time in his new dress.

Vast

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Vast numbers of people were now seen assembling on the beach from all quarters of the island, but far the greatest part came down from the steep hill on the west side of the bay. The bushes and groves on the plain were filled with men, of whom none went without arms. Towards nine o'clock, having fixed a spring on the cable, we prepared to land in the launch and two other boats, with all our marines and a party of seamen well armed. As soon as the natives saw our boats coming, they hastened out of the bushes on the beach, and formed chiefly in two large bodies, one on each side of the watering-place. That on the west side was by far the most considerable, consisting of no less than seven hundred men, in a compact body, who seemed prepared for action. On the east side we guessed there might be about two hundred men, who, though equally well armed, had however a more peaceable look. In the middle, between them, stood the little old man who had been with us just before, and two other natives. These three were unarmed, and had laid a heap of bananas on the beach. Having approached within twenty yards of the beach, captain Cook called to the natives, and made signs for them to lay down their arms, and to recede from the beach. But of this demand they took no manner of notice, perhaps thinking it absurd and unjust that a few strangers should prescribe laws to them on their own ground. As it was not thought prudent to land between
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the two bodies of natives, and to expose ourselves to an attack in which many of these innocent people, and perhaps some of us, might have been killed, captain Cook ordered a musket-ball to be fired over their heads, in order, if possible to frighten them away. Indeed, the whole body was immediately in motion at the sound; but, soon recovering from their surprize, the greatest number stood their ground. One of them, standing close to the water's edge, was so bold as to turn his posteriors towards us, and flap them with his hand, which is the usual challenge with all the nations of the South Sea. Captain Cook ordered another musket to be shot into the air, and, at this signal, the ship played her whole artillery, consisting of five four-pounders, two swivels, and four musketoons. The balls whistled over our heads, and making some havock among the coco-palms, had the desired effect, and entirely cleared the beach in a few moments. Only our old peace maker, with his two friends, remained unconcerned near his pile of fruit, which he presented to the captain as soon as he had landed, at the same time desiring him not to shoot any longer. An interesting picture, representing this landing at Tanna, composed by Mr. Hodges, with great ingenuity, has been engraved for captain Cook's account of this voyage. It is one of those pieces in which the skill of that able artist is displayed in its full force.

Our

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Our first care was to draw up the marines in two lines, to guard the waterers. Stakes were driven into the ground on both sides, and ropes fastened to them, leaving a space of fifty or sixty yards clear, for our people to pass and repass unmolested. By degrees they ventured out of the bushes, and came upon the beach, where we made signs to them not to transgress our lines, which none of them attempted. The captain once more repeated his signs, that they should lay down their arms; those on the west did not attend to them, but the other party, who were in some measure connected with our old friend, complied for the greatest part. The old man told us his name, which was Paw-yangom, and was permitted to stay within the lines if he chose.

We now endeavoured to advance into the woods in quest of plants, but we had not got twenty yards, before we saw numbers of natives behind every bush, who kept up a communication between the two parties on the beach. It was therefore impossible to make any great acquisitions at first, and we contented ourselves with two or three new species. With these we returned on the beach, and by endeavouring to converse with the party on our left (to the east of us) filled our vocabularies with many words of their language. We often offered to purchase their arms, but they constantly refused to part with them. However, one of them disposed of a cylindrical piece of alabaster, two inches long,

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which he wore as a nose-jewel. Before he delivered it, he washed it in the sea, whether from a principle of cleanliness, or not; we cannot determine. During the whole time of our stay on shore this morning, the natives did not attempt to molest or attack us; and those on our left seemed very well disposed, and gave us hopes, that we might establish a friendly intercourse with them in a short time. As we now saw a great part of the inhabitants of this island assembled, we had the best opportunity of forming an adequate idea of their general habit of body, their dress and arms. They are of the middle-sized stature, but many among them may be reckoned tall. Their limbs are well made, and rather slender; some are likewise very stout and strong; but those beautiful outlines, which are so frequent among the people of the Society and Friendly Islands, and of the Marquesas, are rarely to be met with at Tanna. I did not observe one single corpulent man among them; all are active, and full of spirit. Their features are large, the nose broad, but the eyes full, and in general agreeable. Most of them have an open, manly, and good-natured air, though some may likewise be found, as in other nations, whose countenance betrays malevolence. The colour of their hair is black; however, we observed some which had brown or yellowish tips. It grew very thick and bushy, and in generally frizzled; but in a few individuals, it still preserved a degree of woolliness. The beard is like-
wife

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wife thick, black, and frizzled. The colour of their whole body is a dark chesnut brown, which is frequently mixed with a blackish hue, so that it appears at first sight, as if it were fullied with foot; and their skin is extremely soft to the touch, as is observed to be the case with Negroes. They almost go perfectly naked; but, true to the general characteristic of mankind, wear several sorts of ornaments. They dress their hair after the following method: they take a quantity, not exceeding a pigeon's quill in thickness, and wrap it in a thin thread or ribbon, made of the stalk of a bindweed, so that only a small tuft remains at the end. All the hair on the head is disposed exactly in the same manner, so that they have several hundred *queues*, three or four inches long, standing an end, and diverging every way,

Like quills upon the fretful porcupine.

SHAKESPEARE.

If these parcels are a little longer, from five to eight or nine inches, they hang down on both sides of the head, and in that case, the wearer strongly resembles a river-god, with his lank hair all soaked and dripping. Some however, and particularly those who have woolly hair, let it grow without torturing it into any particular form, or, at farthest, tie it in a bunch on the crown of the head with a leaf. Most of them wear a thin stick or reed, about nine inches long, in their hair, with which they occasionally disturb the vermin that abound in their heads. A reed

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set with cock's or owls feathers, is likewise sometimes stuck in the hair as an ornament. A few of them also wear a cap made of a green plantane leaf, or of matted work, on their heads. Some twist their beard into a kind of rope, but the greater number leave it in its natural form. The cartilage between the nostrils is commonly perforated, and in the aperture, they wear a cylindrical stone, or a bit of reed, half an inch thick. The ears are pierced with a very large hole, in which they wear a number of rings of tortoise-shell, or of a piece of white shell an inch in diameter, and three quarter's of an inch broad. Sometimes one ring is fastened within the other, so as to form a kind of chain. Round their neck they sometimes pass a string, to which they fasten a shell, or a small cylindrical piece of green nephritic stone, resembling that which is common at New Zealand. On the left upper arm, they commonly have a bracelet made of a piece of coco-nut-shell, either curiously carved, or plain and polished, between which they frequently stick some plant, as the *euodia hortensis* *, the *croton variegatum*, *lycopodium pblegmaria*, *vitex trifolia*, or a species of *epidendrum*. Some of them wear a belt, or sash, of a kind of coarse cloth, made of the inner bark of a tree, which is commonly of a dark cinnamon colour. Round their middle they tie a string, and below that, they employ the leaves

* See Forst. Nov. Gener. Plantar.

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of a plant like ginger †, for the same purpose, and in the same manner as the natives of Mallicollo. Boys, as soon as they attain the age of six years, are already provided with these leaves, which seems to confirm, what I have observed in regard to the Mallicollese, viz. that they do not employ this covering from motives of decency. Indeed it had so much the contrary appearance, that in the person of every native of Tanna or Mallicollo, we thought we beheld a living representation of that terrible divinity, who protected the orchards and gardens of the ancients. To complete the list of their ornaments, I must add their paints and incisions. The paints are reserved for the face; they are red ochre, white lime, and a colour shining like black lead; all these they mix with coco-nut oil, and lay on the face in oblique bars, two or three inches broad. The white colour is seldom employed, but the red and black is more frequent, and sometimes each covers one half of the face. The incisions are chiefly made on the upper arm, and the belly, and supply the place of punctures, which are common in the lighter-coloured race of men, who inhabit the Friendly and Society Islands, New Zealand, Easter Island, and the Marquesas. They cut the flesh with a bamboo, or sharp shell, and apply a particular plant, which forms an elevated scar on the surface of the skin, after it is healed. These scars are formed to represent flowers, and other fan-

† Of the order of *scitamina*.

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cied figures, which are deemed a great beauty by the natives. A single man only was observed, who had a figure punctured on his breast, which appeared to have been performed in the same manner as among the nations above enumerated.

The weapons which the men of Tanna constantly carry are bows and arrows, clubs, darts and slings. Their young men are commonly slingers and archers, but those of a more advanced age make use of clubs or darts. The bows are made of the best club-wood (*casuarina*) very strong and elastic. They polish them very highly, and perhaps rub them with oil from time to time, in order to keep them in repair. Their arrows are of reed, near four feet long. The same black wood, which the Mallicollese employ for the point, is likewise made use of at Tanna; but the whole point, which is frequently above a foot long, is jagged or bearded on two or three sides. They have likewise arrows with three points, but these are chiefly intended to kill birds and fish. Their slings are made of coco-nut fibres, and worn round the arm or waist; they have a broad part for the reception of the stone, of which the people carry with them several in a leaf. The darts or spears are the third sort of missile weapons at Tanna. They are commonly made of a thin, knotty, and ill-shaped stick, not exceeding half an inch in diameter, but nine or ten feet long. At the thickest end they are shaped into a triangular point, six or eight inches long, and on each corner there is a row of
eight

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eight or ten beards or hooks. These darts they throw with great accuracy, at a short distance, by the help of a piece of plaited cord, four or five inches long, which has a knob at one end, and an eye at the other. They hold the dart between the thumb and fore-finger, having previously placed the latter in the eye of the rope, the remaining part of which is flung round the dart, above the hand, and forms a kind of noose round it, serving to guide and confine the dart in its proper direction, when it is once projected. I have seen one of these darts thrown, at the distance of ten or twelve yards, into a stake four inches in diameter, with such violence, that the jagged point was forced quite through it. The same thing may be said of their arrows; at eight or ten yards distance they shoot them very accurately, and with great force; but as they are cautious of breaking their bows, they seldom draw them to the full stretch, and therefore at twenty-five or thirty yards their arrows have little effect, and are not to be dreaded. The clubs are reserved for close engagement, and every grown man carries one of them, besides some of the missile weapons. They are of four or five different shapes. The most valuable are made of the *casuarina*, about four feet long, straight, cylindrical, highly polished, and knobbed at each end. One knob, which they grasp in the hand, is round, but the other, with which they strike, is cut out into

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into the figure of a star, with many prominent points. Another sort of clubs are about six feet long, and have a great knob or lateral excrescence at one end, which appears to belong to the root. These are made of hard wood, but of a greyish colour. A third kind is about five feet long, and has a flat piece, eight or ten inches long, projecting at right angles, which greatly resembles a farrier's fleam in shape, and is formed with a very sharp edge. A fourth is exactly like this, but has one of these flat blades on each side of the handle. Lastly, a fifth is simply a piece of coral rock, about eighteen inches long, and two in diameter, rudely shaped into a cylinder. Sometimes this is likewise made use of as a missile weapon.

We saw but few women on this day, and those who appeared kept at a great distance from us ; however they all seemed ill-favoured, and of smaller stature than the men. The young girls had only a string tied about the middle, with a little wisp of dry grasses fastened to it, before and behind ; but those of a maturer age wore a short petticoat made of leaves. Their ears were hung full of tortoiseshell rings, and necklaces of shells fell on their bosom. Some of the oldest had caps made of a plantane-leaf, or of matted work, but this head-dress was rather uncommon.

Towards noon the greater part of the natives left the beach, as the weather grew very hot, and the hour of
taking

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taking food was approaching. We likewise embarked, having filled a quantity of fresh water, and returned to dine on board.

About three in the afternoon we went ashore again, and did not find a single man on the beach. At a considerable distance to the eastward we saw about thirty sitting under the shade of their palms, but they did not care to come towards us. We took this opportunity of rambling about two or three hundred yards into the country, where we collected several new plants. We found that part of the plain, at the foot of the level hill, was uncultivated, and filled with a variety of spontaneous shrubs and trees, but did not venture far out of the reach of protection, as we were not yet upon a sure footing with the natives. Having passed some time in the bushes, we walked towards the people whom we had observed seated on the grass. Our friend Paw-yangom met us about halfway, and presented my father with a little pig, for which he received a large nail, and a piece of Taheitee cloth in return. This good old man now accompanied us to our boats, where captain Cook had given orders to haul the seine. By degrees the natives whom we had seen, all came towards us unarmed, and conversed with us, as well as they could, with the greatest cordiality. Our fishermen were extremely successful, and took upwards of three hundred weight of mullets

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and other fish *. Paw-yangom seemed greatly desirous of obtaining some of them; and we made him exceedingly happy, by gratifying his desire. About sunset we returned in high spirits with our capture, it being a long time since we had been able to provide a fresh meal for the whole ship's company.

Sunday 7.

The volcano which had played at long intervals in the morning, entirely ceased its explosions in the afternoon. The next morning, however, at four o'clock, it began to blaze up again; some showers of rain having fallen over night. Its fires afforded us a most pleasing and magnificent sight. The smoke, which slowly rolled up from time to time, in thick and heavy volumes, was coloured with all the various hues of yellow, orange, crimson, and purple, which died away into a reddish grey and brown. As often as a new explosion happened, the whole country, with its shaggy forests, was tinged with the same orange and purple, according to its distance, or particular exposure to the volcanic light.

We landed after breakfast. The natives, who were assembled in great crouds, though not near so numerous as the day before, did not attempt to hinder our landing, but immediately made way for us. Captain Cook however

* Particularly a sort common in the West Indies, and there called ten-pounders (*fox argenteus*. N. S.)

found it necessary to stretch ropes again on both sides, in order to keep our back free from them. The greater part still refused to sell their arms; but some were not so strict, and parted with both darts and spears. My father gave Paw-yangom a hatchet for the pig which he had received the day before, and explained to him the use of it. He was extremely well pleased with it, and shewed it to his countrymen. Many of them made signs to us that they wanted the same present, which we promised them, if they would bring us hogs; but this offer was entirely unsuccessful. A tent was erected this day, where Mr. Wales, the astronomer, made his observations. A few of the natives were in high spirits, and danced about, shaking their darts at some of our people, but the rest remained very quiet. At noon captain Cook returned on board with us, leaving the lieutenant of marines with his men on shore. We had not been long on board, before we heard a musket fired, and saw the natives disturbed. However, they were soon pacified, and returned to their former station. All our people came off about three of the clock, in order to dine on board. We then heard that one of the inhabitants had offended the officer, by making the same unmannerly gesture with which we had been challenged the day before. Upon this he was shot in the thigh, and made off into the woods. His countrymen likewise prepared to run away, but their old people pacified them.

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The success of the preceding afternoon tempted us to haul the seine a second time this evening, by which means we got about forty-eight pounds of fish. When we landed we saw very few natives, but in a short time they collected near us in great crowds, most of them without any arms, having left them in the bushes, probably to please us. Towards sunset they all dispersed, and only a few remained, who came up and told us that they wanted to go to sleep. We made signs to them to depart, and they all left us immediately. We thought we might explain this behaviour as a kind of ceremony, and that they did not think it civil to leave their guests alone in their own country. This circumstance would imply, that they have ideas of propriety and decency, which we should hardly have expected among an uncivilized people.

The next morning Dr. Sparrman, with my father and myself, landed under the steep mountain on the west side of the bay, where a party of sailors were sent to load shingle for ballast. A little swell came in upon the shore in this place, which obliged us to wade through the surf. On the steep sides of the hill we gathered several new plants, and slid down the precipice several times. Different sorts of minerals appeared in this place. The principal strata of the steep hill consist of a species of clay, very soft, and crumbling in pieces when exposed to the air and moisture. We also found a species of black sand-stone, a substance resembling

sembling rotten-stone (*lapis fuillus*), and some pieces of chalk, which were either pure, or tinged with a reddish colour, perhaps arising from particles of iron. We walked several hundred yards along the beach, towards the west point of the harbour, and at last seeing a path which led up the hill, prepared to advance into the country, when we were met by a number of natives, who were all armed. We then rejoined our party, who loaded ballast, and traded with the natives for a few sugar-canes and coco-nuts. They all sat down on the rocks near us; and one of them, to whom the rest paid some deference, exchanged names with my father. He was called Oomb-yé-gan. This custom of making friendship, by a reciprocal exchange of names, is common in all the southern islands which we had hitherto visited, and in reality has something in it very engaging and affectionate. After having been in this manner adopted among the natives, we continued upon the best terms imaginable, and collected great supplements to the vocabulary. They made us a present of some leaves of a fig, which had been wrapped in banana-leaves, and stewed. They were extremely well tasted, and might be eaten as a substitute for our spinach. We likewise obtained two large plantanes of the coarser sort; which proved, that even here the spirit of hospitality is natural to the inhabitants. The women and children brought down these dainties from the hills, and presented them to us; but they

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they were so extremely timorous, that if we only fixed our eyes upon them, they instantly ran away, to the great entertainment of the men. - However, their coming so near us, was sufficient proof that we had made great progress towards gaining their confidence. We observed some of them which had a smile on their countenance, but in general they looked gloomy and melancholy. They had earrings and necklaces like the men, and the married women wore caps of matted work. The greater part of them had nose-jewels of white stone. Whenever we presented a bead, a nail, or ribbon to any of the people, they refused to touch it, but desired us to lay it down, and then took it up in a leaf. Whether this was owing to some superstitious notions, or to a fancied idea of cleanliness, or of civility, must remain a matter of doubt. Towards noon our party re-embarked, and we went on board with them, the greatest part of the natives having already retired to their dwellings on the hill. The afternoon was spent in fishing again, but without our former success, for we only caught about two dozen of fish, after many repeated hauls of the net. The natives on the beach were very numerous; and their presence made it improper for us to ramble far into the woods. We therefore confined ourselves to the skirts, and collected a few words of their language.

Tuesday 9

We returned to the same place the next morning, where our people had loaded ballast the day before. We climbed
about

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about the rocks for several hours in the heat of the day, without much success; and were only tantalized by the appearance of a rich forest, into which we could not venture to advance with any degree of prudence. Before we returned on board again, we discovered a hot spring coming out of the rock close to the water's edge. We had no thermometer at hand; but the degree of heat was such, that we could not bear to hold a finger in the water above a single second. As soon as we had returned to the ship at noon, captain Cook likewise came from the watering party, and brought one of the natives with him in his boat. We soon discovered him to be the same young man, who had shewed so much coolness and bravery on the first day of our arrival, by remaining in his canoe, when near two hundred of his countrymen leaped into the sea at the discharge of a cannon, (see p. 263.) He told us his name was Fannòkko, and enquired for our names, which he endeavoured to remember. He, as well as all his countrymen, had not the same facility of pronunciation as the Mallicollese; we were therefore obliged to tell him our names, modified according to the softer organs of the Taheitians. His features were rather handsome; his eyes large, and very lively; and the whole countenance expressed good-humour, sprightliness, and acuteness. To mention only a single instance of his ingenuity; it happened that my father and captain Cook, on comparing their vocabularies, discovered that each had collected

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lected a different word to signify the sky; they appealed to him, to know which of the two expressions was right; he presently held out one hand, and applied it to one of the words, then moving the other hand under it, he pronounced the second word; intimating that the upper was properly the sky, and the lower the clouds which moved under it. He likewise gave us the names of several islands in the neighbourhood. That from which we came to Tanna, and on which captain Cook had an unhappy difference with the natives, he called Irromanga. The low island which we had passed in standing in to this harbour he named Immèr; a high island, which we had discovered to the east of Tanna, on the same day, Irronàn; and another to the south, which we had not yet seen, Anàttom. He sat down to dinner with us, and tasted of our salt pork, but did not eat more than a single morsel of it. Some yams, fried in lard, or simply boiled, he relished better; but he ate very sparingly upon the whole, and finished his repast with a small portion of pye, made of dried and worm-eaten apples, which seemed to be very agreeable to his palate. He also tasted a little wine after dinner; but though he drank it without shewing any dislike, he did not choose to take a second glass. His manners at table were extremely becoming and decent; and the only practice which did not appear quite cleanly in our eyes, was his making use of a stick, which he wore in his hair, instead of a fork, with which he occasionally scratched his

his head. As his hair was dressed in the highest fashion of the country, *à la porc-épic*, greased with oil and paint, our stomachs were so much the more easily offended; though Fannòkko had not the least notion that such an action was reprehensible.

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After dinner we walked about the decks with him, and shewed him different parts of the ship. He soon fixed his eyes on one of our Taheitian dogs, which he called *boòga*, hog; a sure sign that dogs are unknown in his country. He seemed so desirous of possessing this creature, that captain Cook made him a present of one of each sex. Besides this, he received a hatchet, a large piece of Taheitee cloth, some spike-nails, medals, and other trinkets of less value, with which we carried him back to the shore, happy beyond expression. As soon as he landed he left the beach with his riches, and walked into the country to his home.

We took a walk to the eastward along the shore of the bay, and looked into the groves which skirted the flat hill, of which I have spoken above. We found these groves to consist of coco-palms, and several species of shady fig-trees, with eatable fruits, nearly of the size of common figs. We also observed several sheds, under which some of their canoes were secured from the sun and weather; but there were no habitations, except towards the eastern point. We were still above three hundred yards from thence, when a great number of natives came and begged us not to go

farther;

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farther ; some likewise ran to captain Cook, and pointing to us, desired him to recall us. We returned to our party, and endeavoured to penetrate into the country, immediately at the back of our waterers. We found a path, which led through a variety of bushes, upon the flat hills. In our way to it, we crossed some glades, or meadows, enclosed in woods on all sides, and covered with a very rich herbage of the most vivid green. On our ascending the hill, we were met by three natives, who endeavoured to persuade us to return ; but seeing us resolved to proceed, they accompanied us. We passed through a little airy grove, into several extensive plantations of bananas, yams, eddoes, and fig-trees, which were in some places enclosed in fences of stone two feet high. We heard the surf beating on the shore to the south, and seeing the three natives very uneasy at our progress, we told them we only wished to behold the sea. They led us to a little eminence, from whence we got sight of it, and of an island eight or ten leagues distant, which was the same that Fannòkko had named Anattom. It appeared to be of considerable height ; and though not of the same extent as Tanna, was probably about ten or twelve leagues in circuit. Having seen this island, the natives invited us to go on farther inland with them, with the same eagerness which they had before expressed to keep us back ; but as we took notice, that one of them was sent before the rest, we did not care to trust their invitations at that time,

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time, which might however, for aught I know, have been very friendly and honest. We retreated therefore gradually to the beach, having picked up a new plant, and seen so much of the country, as only made us more desirous of examining it. Our people had once more tried their luck in fishing, but were not by far so fortunate as the first time. The natives attended to their method of hauling the net, and from their gestures, we learnt that they are unacquainted with this contrivance, and only dart or shoot with arrows at the fish, when they rise near the surface of the water. They never failed to beg for some fish as often as our people hauled the seine, which is some confirmation that they rarely catch or strike them. As often as they took notice of any thing new to them, they broke out into the interjection, *beebou*! They likewise made use of the same word, when they were suddenly surpris'd, when they admired, or disliked, or coveted any thing. The different tone and gesture with which it was either drawled out, or quickly repeated several times in a breath, strongly marked the various affections of the mind. They snapped their fingers at the same time, especially when they expressed their admiration.

We went on shore at the watering-place the next morning, immediately after breakfast. A party of our people had been there ever since day-break, and told us they had seen many of the natives passing by them, from the eastern

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part of the bay, loaded with bundles, which they carried into the country. Our men were of opinion that they had actually removed, in order to remain undisturbed, and out of the reach of our fire-arms; but as we never found many habitations on this part of the shore, our arrival might at first have drawn together a number of people from other parts of the island, who occasionally lodged in the woods thereabouts, but now returned to their own dwellings, seeing that no farther mischief was to be apprehended from the strangers, who had arrived among them. We endeavoured to conquer their diffidence more and more, by counting on our fingers, that we only intended to remain a certain number of days on the island; and we found that they were always much pleased and pacified by this intelligence. It must be observed, however, that all those who carried loads this morning were women, whilst the men walked on unconcernedly without any incumbrance, except their arms. It should appear from this circumstance, that the people of Tanna are not yet arrived at that advanced state, which distinguishes the natives of the Society and Friendly Islands. All savage nations have the general character of using the other sex with great unkindness and indignity, obliging them to perform all sorts of laborious, and humiliating operations.

The removal of the natives was soon discernible, as those who came on the beach to us, were in very small numbers.

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numbers. We therefore took the opportunity of walking out upon the plain, behind the watering-place. We met with several ponds of stagnant water, in which the natives had planted great quantities of eddoes (*arum.*) The coco-palms formed spacious groves, full of different shrubberies, where a great number of birds of different sorts, chiefly fly-catchers, creepers, and parroquets resided. We saw likewise many lofty trees, covered with nuts, which are common at Taheitee, (*inocarpus* Nov. Gen.) These trees were commonly the resort of pigeons of different kinds, and chiefly of the sort which are to be met with at the Friendly Islands, where the natives catch and tame them. It should seem that the inhabitants of Tanna likewise practise fowling; for one of our lieutenants shot a pigeon this day, which had two very long white feathers fastened to its tail by strings; he had believed it to be a new and singular species of bird, till he discovered the artifice. We met with some natives on this excursion, who told us, that one of our people had killed two pigeons; but this intelligence was only valuable to us, on account of the language in which it was conveyed, which was exactly the same with that spoken at the Friendly Islands. It appeared to us that he made use of this language, in order to be more intelligible to us, having frequently observed that we pronounced several words of it. We expressed some surprize however, at his knowledge, and he then repeated the same meaning;

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in the language of Tanna, which was totally distinct from the other. He added at the same time, that the former language was spoken at the island of Irironan, which lies seven or eight leagues to the east of Tanna*. Perhaps a colony of the same race, who inhabit the Friendly Islands, and all the easterly islands of the South Pacific Ocean, may have settled on that island; or perhaps the natives of Irironan keep up a communication with the Friendly Islands, by means of some Isles unknown to us, lying between them.

We made another excursion in the afternoon, and saw but few inhabitants in our way, though we advanced near three miles on the plain. We always told them, that we wanted to kill birds, and they immediately went on without giving us any uneasiness. We shot indeed a number of small birds, but the grass was so thick that we lost almost all of them. We passed by some plantations of bananas and sugar-canes, but saw no houses, the greatest part of the ground being uncultivated, and covered with shady forests, or low shrubberies. At the end of the plain we observed a long, and spacious valley, from whence we saw a great number of smokes rising, and heard the promiscuous voices of many men, women, and children. We stood in a path, on both sides of which were thick shrubberies; and the vale itself was so full of groves,

* He likewise acquainted us, that Irironan was sometimes called Footoona.

that

that we neither saw the people, whose voices we heard, nor any of their dwellings. It being late in the evening, we proceeded no farther, and without discovering ourselves, retreated to the beach.

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The volcano had been quiet ever since the 7th, and though it continued to emit smoke from time to time, yet the rumbling had entirely ceased. The fire within the crater, still however illuminated the clouds of smoke. We had heavy, and almost continual rains all night. In the morning we landed on the beach, and saw but few inhabitants; we therefore repaired to its westernmost corner, where we had observed a path which led to the steep hill on the west side of the bay. We ascended by very easy steps, through the most delightful groves of spontaneous trees and shrubs, which every where spread a fragrant and refreshing smell. Several kinds of flowers embellished the tufted foliage, and the most beautiful bindweeds climbed like ivy to the summits of the tallest trees, and adorned them with garlands of blue and purple blossoms. A number of birds twittered round us, and gave life to a scene, which would without them have been inanimate. Indeed, we did not see a single native on the first slope of this hill, nor did we meet with any plantations. Having walked up about half a mile by different windings, we came to a little glade, covered with delicate herbage, and surrounded with the most beautiful wild trees of the wood.

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Here the sun shone excessively hot upon us, the place being entirely sheltered from winds. A sulphureous smell however, soon betrayed a kind of steam rising out of the ground, which added to the heat of the place. There was a little mound of whitish earth, which looked as if it were calcareous, on the left side of the path, almost hid by the branches of several sorts of wild fig-trees, that throve luxuriantly in this neighbourhood. From this mound we saw a vapour, or steam rising continually; the earth was so hot, that we could hardly bear to stand upon it, and we found it impregnated with native sulphur. When we stirred in the white earth, we found the steam coming up faster; and on tasting it, we observed a styptic or astringent quality, like that of alum in it. From this place we walked on a great way higher, and came to another open place, which lay on the slope, and was rather barren. Here likewise we found two other spots, which emitted steam, but not in such quantities as the first, nor so strongly scented. The earth which covered these solfatarras, was of the same nature as that on the first, and had a greenish tinge from the sulphur with which it was penetrated. But in the neighbourhood of it, we found red ochre of the same sort with that which the natives employ to paint their faces. The volcano was more loud than ever we had known it this day, and at every explosion we observed the steam rising much more copiously than before, in thick white clouds,

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clouds, from the solfatarras. This circumstance seems to indicate, that they have a subterraneous connection with, or are, by some means unknown to us, affected by the convulsions of this burning mountain. We remarked that this was the second time the explosions of the volcano had recommenced after showers of rain; and were therefore led to suspect, that the rain in some measure excites these explosions, by promoting or encreasing the fermentation of various mineral substances in the mountain. Having contemplated these singular *spiracula*, we mounted still higher, and discovered a great number of plantations, in different parts of the forest. The path continued to be very good and easy of ascent, surrounded on all sides by very shady trees; but as soon as it approached the plantations, we lost it by some means or other, and it seemed as if the natives had purposely contrived it so, in order to prevent being surprised by their enemies. At last we reached the summit of this hill, and went down the other side of it, in a narrow lane between hedges of reeds, in sight of the sea, which washes the north-east coast of the island. In a little time we got sight of the volcano between the trees, and perceived that the walk which led to it, across several hills and vallies, could not be less than two leagues long from our station. We saw its eruption however, and took notice of immense masses of rock which it hurled upwards in the smoke, and some of which were at least as large as the hull

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of our long-boat. We were thinking to go on towards it, as we had hitherto met with no bad accident, nor seen so much as a single native on our walk: however, our voices must have alarmed some of them in the plantations along which we passed, for we presently heard one or two blowing on great conchs, which, among many savage nations, and particularly in the South Seas, are used to alarm the country. At this sound we instantly resolved to retreat, and got safely down to the solfatarra which we had last discovered, unseen by any of the natives. Here we met a few of them coming up the hill from the sea side, who seemed greatly surpris'd to see us so far advanced into their recesses. We told them that we went about to shoot birds, and desired them to bring us something to drink. They went on without seeming to take much notice of our request; but after we had botanized on the spot above a quarter of an hour, and were just preparing to descend, we saw a whole family of men, women, and children, coming down with abundance of sugar-canes and two or three coco-nuts. We sat down, and after refreshing ourselves with the juices which these vegetables contained, made our hospitable friends several presents, with which they parted from us well contented. We went down with our acquisitions, and came on the beach when the boats were going on board. The natives had now begun to trade with yams, sugar-canes, coco-nuts, and bananas; and though they only supplied us sparingly,

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sparingly, yet we were highly pleased even with this small beginning, hoping that in time we might obtain more considerable supplies. They set no value on our iron-ware, but preferred Taheitee cloth, small pieces of green nephritic stone from New Zealand, mother of pearl shells, and, above all, pieces of tortoise-shell. For these last they sold their arms; at first, parting only with darts and arrows, but afterwards disposing also of their bows and clubs.

In the afternoon we landed, and walked along the sea-shore towards the east point, where the natives had prevented our going on two days before. We met some of them, who talked with us a few moments; but whilst they stood near us, we took notice of a single man sitting behind a tree, with his bow bent and the arrow pointed towards us. As soon as he perceived himself discovered, and a musket pointed at him, he threw his arms into the bush and crept out to us, and I believe he really had no bad intent, though such kinds of jests are not much to be trusted. We reached the eastern point of the harbour, and there gathered some beautiful red flowers, which had tempted us ever since we came to an anchor; they belonged to a species of yamboos or *eugenia*. As we were going to cross the point and to proceed along the shore beyond it, fifteen or twenty natives crowded about us, and begged us with the greatest earnestness to return. We were not much inclined to comply with their demand, but they repeated their intreaties,

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and at last made signs that we should be killed and eaten. The same gestures, though much less intelligible, had been made to us two days before, but we had paid very little attention to them, unwilling, upon such slight testimony, to suppose that they had any idea of anthropophagy. However, at present we could no longer be mistaken; for, having pretended to misunderstand them, and making them believe that we thought they offered us some provisions, we began to move forward, and expressed that we should be glad to eat something. They were very eager to undeceive us, and showed, by signs, how they killed a man, cut his limbs asunder, and separated the flesh from the bones. Lastly, they bit their own arms, to express more clearly that they eat human flesh. We turned from the point, but walked towards a hut which we observed about fifty yards from it, where the ground began to rise. Here several of them, seeing us advance, took up arms out of the hut, perhaps to force us to return. It was not our wish to offend these people in their own country, and therefore we checked a spirit of curiosity, which might have proved fatal to some of them, if they had obliged us to defend our lives. The motives for pursuing our discoveries on this point were not, however, of a trifling nature. Every morning, at day-break, we heard a slow solemn song or dirge sung on this point, which lasted more than a quarter of an hour. It seemed to be a religious act, and gave us great reason

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reason to suspect that some place of worship was concealed in these groves, and the constant endeavours of the natives to keep us from this place, greatly confirmed us in this supposition. Having walked back a little way, we resolved to get upon the flat hill in a place where the ascent was easy, and where, being very near the point, we hoped to be able to make some observations. When we had reached the top, which was about thirty-five or forty feet perpendicular in height, we found ourselves in a spacious plantation, chiefly consisting of innumerable banana-trees. We found it interspersed with coco-palms and other tall and tufted trees, which entirely impeded the prospect on all sides, and separated from other plantations by various fences of reeds, very neatly made, much resembling those of Tonga-Tabboo and Namoka. Here the natives began to repeat their threats, and, if possible, made it more plain to us than before, that we should be killed and eaten if we went on. We told them we only wished to shoot some birds, but they did not seem to pay much attention to this excuse, and I know not whether we should have made any discoveries this afternoon, if the little friendly old man, Paw-yangom, had not luckily met us. We expressed reciprocal joy on finding each other, and the old man immediately conducted us along the edge of the hill towards its western extremity. Here we saw great numbers of fig-trees, which the natives cultivate for the sake of the fruit and the leaves. They are

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of two or three different kinds, and one sort, in particular, bears figs of the common size, which are woolly, like peaches, on the outside, and have a beautiful crimson pulp like pomegranates. They are sweetish and juicy, but, upon the whole, rather insipid. The yamboos, (*eugenia*,) a cooling watery fruit, of the size of pears, but with an agreeable tartness, likewise grew here in great abundance on large trees; and we also observed some fine cabbage-palms, (*areca olcracea*.) We advanced into a little thicket of various flowering shrubs, and in a few minutes found ourselves on a fine open area not less than an hundred yards square, on the skirts of which we saw three habitations of the natives. Many lofty trees, richly furnished with foliage, made this recess impenetrable to the eye from the outside. Among the rest we noticed an immense wild fig-tree in one corner of the green, of which the stem was three yards in diameter, and the branches spread at least forty yards on all sides in the most picturesque manner. At the foot of this beautiful tree, which was still in full vigour, we saw a small family seated round a fire, on which they roasted some yams and bananas. They ran away into their huts at sight of us, but Paw-yangom telling them they had nothing to fear, they came out again; the women and girls, however, remained at a great distance, and only peeped at us behind the bushes. We sat down with them, and they offered us some of their provisions, with the same hospitality which

we

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we had experienced in other islands. Their huts were, properly speaking, large sheds, of which the roof reaches down to the very ground, and forms a ridge at top. They are open at both ends, having only a small enclosure or railing of reeds and sticks about eighteen inches high. The height of the ridge in the largest was nine or ten feet, and the width on the floor between the roofs nearly the same. The length, however, was considerable, and exceeded five and thirty feet. The construction of these huts is very simple; two row of stakes are placed in the ground, bending towards each other, and those which are opposite are tied together. Over these they lay several mats, made of coco-nut leaves, which form a thatch sufficient to defend them from the inclemencies of the air. We saw no manner of utensils or furniture in these houses. The floor was covered with dry grass, and a few mats of palm-leaves lay spread in different parts. We likewise observed that all the inside was blackened by smoke, and found in every hut the vestiges of several fire-places. In the middle of the area, we saw three tall poles standing close together, which were made of the stems of coco-palms, and connected together by means of transverse laths at the top. A vast number of small sticks were fastened across them from the top to within nine or ten feet of the bottom, and these were hung with old coco-nuts. As they make use of the oil in the kernel, and employ the shell for bracelets, they probably keep them in this place.

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place to season them. All the skirts of the flat hill, where we saw no habitation, are, as I have already observed, well stocked with immense numbers of wild coco-palms, and the ground underneath them is covered with nuts, of which as it should seem they take the trouble to collect only an inconsiderable quantity. Little bits of their cloth, which they wear as sashes or belts, were suspended on the bushes which surrounded the green; and the presents which Paw-yangom had received, among which was a laced hat, were placed in the same manner like so many trophies. This was a convincing proof to me of the general honesty of the people towards each other. At Taheitee they are already obliged to suspend their goods to the roofs of their houses, in order to keep them out of the reach of thieves; but here they are safe on every bush. It must be observed likewise, in confirmation of this remark, that during our stay among the people of Tanna, we had not a single instance of their stealing the least trifle from any one of our people. The natives having observed, that though we looked into their huts, we did not attempt to do any hurt, to displace or take any thing, soon became more reconciled to our appearance, and the boys, from six to fourteen years, who had hitherto kept aloof, ventured to come near, and suffered us to seize their hands. We distributed medals with silk ribbons to them, and gave them handkerchiefs of Taheitee cloth, which entirely conciliated their affection, and banished reserve

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serve and the remains of apprehension. Distrust and suspicion, are not yet known to the boy; he is frank and honest, and thinks every body is like himself. We learnt all their names, and preserved them in memory, and it can hardly be thought how much this little artifice assisted us in gaining their good graces; they were overjoyed that we remembered them, and came running as often as we called. Having spent some time with them, we got up to return to the beach, and old Paw-yangom, who did not care to go down, it being very near sun-set, gave directions to two or three young men to shew us the nearest path. We took leave of him very heartily, and made some addition to the presents he had already received. In our way we told our conductors, pointing to the coco-palms near the beach, that we were dry, and should be glad to taste some of them. Upon this they immediately led us into another path, where a number of palms stood in the midst of the plantation. From thence they took some nuts, and presented them to us, which we interpreted as a mark of great good-nature; but when we tasted the liquor, we found that they had done us a particular kindness or civility, it being infinitely more delicious than that of the nuts near the beach. We now looked at the trees, and finding them in very fine order; concluded that those below were wild; but these, planted and brought to perfection by the care of the inhabitants. It is well known that by means of cultivation

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the coco-palm, as well as all other trees, is made fitter for domestic purposes; and the Javanese have many varieties, of which the nuts are much improved*. The sort which is usual in the Society Islands is one of the best, and likewise owes its excellence to culture; nor do I remember to have seen any variety there resembling the wild palms of Tanna, which thrive even on the mountains. Having been well refreshed through the benevolence of our friendly Indians, we proceeded towards the beach, and in a few minutes rejoined our watering-party there, by a path which led us directly down. Here we rewarded our conductors to the best of our power, and embarking in a boat returned to the ship for the ensuing night.

The singular nature of the solfatarra on the western hill so much attracted our attention, that we hastened thither again the next morning, and Mr. Hodges was of the party. The volcano continued to thunder all the day, and threw up vast quantities of minute black ashes, which, when more accurately examined, proved to be long needle-like and semitransparent shersls. The whole country was strewn with these particles, and they proved remarkably dangerous to our eyes in botanizing, as every leaf on the island was entirely covered with them. It may however be remarked, that the volcano and its productions seem to contribute greatly to that prodigious luxuriance of vegetation which

* See Hawkefworth, vol. III. p. 736;

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is so remarkable on this island. Many plants here attain twice the height which they have in other countries ; their leaves are broader, their flowers larger, and more richly scented. The same observation has been made in various volcanic countries. The soil of Vesuvius and Etna is reckoned the most fertile in Italy and Sicily ; and some of the best flavoured wines which Italy produces are raised upon it. The volcanic ground on the Habichtswald, in Hesse, though situated in a high, cold, and barren country, is surprisingly fertile, and covered with verdure. All kinds of plants, indigenous and foreign, thrive with luxuriance, and make this beautiful spot, on which the gardens of the landgrave are situated, the admiration of all beholders. Nay, to confine ourselves to our own voyage, the Society Islands, the Marquesas, and some of the Friendly Islands, where we found volcanic remains, as well as Ambrism and Tanna, where we actually saw burning mountains, have a rich and fertile soil, in which nature displays the magnificence of the vegetable kingdom. Easter Island itself, wholly overturned by some volcanic eruption, produces different vegetables and useful roots, without any other soil than flags, cinders, and pumice-stones ; though the burning heat of the sun, from which there is no shelter, should seem sufficient to shrivel and destroy every plant.

We soon reached the first smoking place, but seeing the natives somewhat higher, we did not stop, and walked up

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to them. They were the same who had behaved so well to us the day before, and they now sent some of their people up into the country, as soon as they saw us. Mr. Hodges sketched some views, whilst we passed our time in examining several plants, and suspended a thermometer, with Fahrenheit's scale, on a tree in the shade. This thermometer stood at 78° on board the ship, at half an hour past eight, which was the time of our departure. Having been carried up close to the body, it had risen to 87° ; but after hanging five minutes, at a distance of twenty yards from the solfatarra, it remained at 80° . We made a hole in the earth, deep enough to contain the thermometer in its whole length, and suspending it from a stick into this hole, it rose in half a minute to 170° . We left it there for the space of four minutes, and at the end of that time it still marked the same degree. The instant it was taken out, it fell to 160° , and in a few minutes gradually to 80° again. The steam which issues from this place is consequently of the hottest. The natives, who observed that we stirred in the solfatarra, desired us to leave it, telling us it would take fire, and resemble the volcano, which they called *affòr*. They seemed to be extremely apprehensive of some mischance, and were very uneasy as often as we made the least attempt to disturb the sulphureous earth. We walked higher, and found several other spots smoking, and of the same nature with that before described. By this
time

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time the messengers, whom the people had sent off, came back with sugar-canes and coco-nuts, and treated us as they had done the preceding morning. After this refreshment we advanced higher up the hill, towards another in sight, from whence we hoped to have a nearer view of the volcano; but upon our approaching some plantations, the natives came out, and pointed out a path, which they pretended led directly to the volcano or affoör. We followed them for several miles, through various windings, being continually surrounded by woods, which hid the country from us on all sides. At last we found ourselves near the sea-shore, from whence we had set out, and saw, or thought we saw, that the inhabitants had been artful enough to lead us far from their dwellings, where they dislike the presence of strangers. One of them was a very intelligent man, and gave us the names of several islands in the neighbourhood, some in directions where we had not been. As we knew that captain Cook had collected a list of names of countries the day before, all which he afterwards found to be districts on the isle of Tanna, we particularly enquired of our Indian, whether the places which he enumerated were likewise situated on this island; but he expressly said there was the sea (tassée) between them; and seeing us make circles on a paper, made signs that we were right.

We spent the afternoon in an excursion round the flat hill to the south-eastward. Here we found some new plants,
and

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and met with a few natives, who offered to conduct us to the sea on the other side. However, observing that they only endeavoured to lead us back to the watering place by another path, we left them, and walked on alone through the plantations, many of which were enclosed with fences of reed five feet high. However another native soon came after us, and brought us to the beach on the other side of the island. We saw the isle of Anattom again, and the native pointed a little to the north of it, where he said another island was situated, which he called Eetonga. This circumstance strengthens the conjecture which I ventured before, that there is some connection or intercourse between Tanna and the Friendly Islands. The name of Eetonga has a great similarity with that of Tonga-Tabboo, and some of the natives of Middleburgh Island, or Eaoowhe, really call it Eetonga-Tabboo. The latter part of the word, (Tabboo) is affixed to other islands in the Pacific Ocean; viz. Tabboo-amannoo (Saunders Island) and Tabboo-ai *. I will not pretend to say that the people of Tanna design the island of Tonga-Tabboo by their Eetonga; but there is room to suppose that some other island of that name may be situated towards the Friendly Islands which facilitates the connection. When we had satisfied our curiosity we returned to the beach at the bay, where our people had once more

* An island enumerated by the Tahitians.

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caught about two hundred and fifty pounds weight of fish. This good fortune enabled the captain to give the whole ship's company another fresh meal, which was consumed with the greatest avidity. The bay contained great plenty of fish, and some of the petty officers, who took the trouble of fishing, caught several albecores and cavalhas of prodigious dimensions during night. Two fish of the same species which had poisoned so many persons at Mallicollo were likewise taken one morning; but though I wished particularly to draw and describe this species, in order to enable future navigators to be on their guard, yet such was the greediness with which all our shipmates now seized on a fresh meal, that in spite of the example, which was recent in all our memories, the fish were cut up, salted, and peppered the moment they came out of the water. Fortunately those who dined upon them did not feel any bad effects; a farther proof that those which poisoned the officers had fed upon some noxious vegetables, and by that means acquired a bad quality, which is not natural to them. Our sailors relied on the experiment of the silver-spoon, which remained perfectly untainted after being boiled with the fish; but it is at present well known that this mark is extremely fallacious, and that only certain sorts of poisons tinge that metal with an unusual colour. The natives still continued to sell us some yams, but the trade was very far from being brisk. Tortoise-shell was the only commodity

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which they were desirous to obtain; but as we had never expected a demand for it, it happened that there were only a few small pieces in the ship, which had been accidentally purchased at Tonga-Tabboo. Those who were in possession of this valuable article were far from making proper use of it. Notwithstanding the loathsomeness of salt meat, the sailor could not be brought to have a single provident thought for the future, and exchanged his tortoise-shell for bows and arrows, instead of laying up a stock of yams.

Saturday 13.

Our short excursions into the country did not produce such great discoveries in botany, as to confine us to the ship a whole day. We therefore hastened ashore every morning, and endeavoured to collect materials for new observation. On the 13th, we walked up the flat hill to the eastward, in order to visit our friends who lived with old Paw-yangom. We arrived at the plantations unseen by any of the natives, who now came down in very small numbers to the beach, their curiosity being satisfied, and their distrust considerably lessened. We heard one of the men at work cutting down a tree with his hatchet of stone, and observed him through the bushes a long while. The tree was not so thick as a man's thigh, and yet it was a very laborious undertaking, with such a tool as this hatchet, to cut it in two. We went up to him, and he immediately left off working, in order to talk to us. Several boys, who remembered us, came, calling us by name, and brought

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brought us handfulls of figs and yamboos ; and the women likewise ventured to come and look at us. We examined the hatchet which the man employed, and found it formed exactly like those which are made use of at the Friendly and Society Islands. The blade was of a black stone, which resembled the basaltcs employed at those places, and he told us it came from the isle of Anattom. He shewed us at the same time another kind of hatchet, to which a broken shell was fastened instead of a blade. This shell, which seemed to be a part of a mitre-shell (*voluta mitra*), he said was brought from the low island Immèr, a few leagues to the northward of the bay. It appeared that he was clearing a piece of ground, in order to plant it with yams. He had already cut down a quantity of bushes, which lay in heaps, and which he told us he would set on fire. We proceeded from hence towards the sea shore on the other side, attended by a number of boys, and several young men. We shot some birds in our way thither, and collected several new plants in the plantations, which were more delightfully situated than any we had hitherto seen. We found in them a variety of odoriferous plants, and some others, which it seems were cultivated only for their elegant appearance, as is frequently practised in gardens. We also took notice of the catappa-tree, of which the nuts have a large delicious kernel, twice as big as an almond. It had shed its leaves at present ; but the nuts of the last season were still sticking

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on the branches: the boys broke the hard shell between stones, presenting the kernel to us on a clean fresh leaf. They were as assiduous at present in offering their services as the Taheitians, and from less interested motives. If we had collected a plant, of which we could find no other specimens, we only shewed it them, and away they flew to gather it for us, in places where they knew it was to be found. They were extremely fond of seeing us shoot, eagerly pointed out birds on the summits of the coco-palms, and were overjoyed as often as we killed them. Near every hut we saw some poultry, and several well fed hogs; and here and there we observed rats running over the path, of the same sort which is common in the other islands of the Pacific Ocean. They particularly frequented the fields of sugar-cane, in which they make great depredation. The natives had therefore dug several holes all round these plantations, in which they catch these animals. When we came to the sea shore, we walked to the northward along the beach a good way, in order to come to the point, which the natives from the other side had repeatedly guarded from our sight. On the shore we observed some small huts, which we took to be the abode of fishermen, and from whence we concluded that we had been formerly mistaken, in supposing them unacquainted with fishing; however, we saw no inhabitants, no nets, nor fish in these huts, but only some darts, which might be used as harpoons,

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poons, or fish-gigs. Our attending Indians were greatly alarmed on seeing us go on towards the point, and with much anxious intreaty prevailed on us to give up all thoughts of going to examine that part of the island. They repeated to us the signs of eating human flesh; and it is not to be doubted, but that this practice still prevails among them. Those who contend, that anthropophagy has the plea of the most cruel necessity, will hardly be able to account for its existence in a nation living in a rich and fertile country, having plenty of vegetable food, and likewise well provided with domestic animals. The principle of revenge seems much more likely to have produced this extraordinary custom, wherever it has been observed. Self-preservation is doubtless the first law of nature, and the passions are subservient to its purposes. In civilized communities we have tacitly consented to laws and regulations, and delegated to certain individuals the power to redress our wrongs; but among savages every man rights himself, and anger and revenge are implanted in his breast, to redress the injuries and oppressions of others. They are equally natural to him as the sentiments of general philanthropy; and however different and opposite these two impulses of nature may seem, yet they are springs, which, by acting against each other, keep the whole system of human society in constant motion, and prevent its total subversion or corruption. A man wholly destitute of philanthropy is a

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monster, justly detested by all mankind; but another, entirely incapable of anger, is a sheepish wretch, liable to be insulted by every mean-spirited villain. A nation, or I may say a family, (as savages seldom live in greater communities), which has been frequently exposed to the attacks and insults of others, naturally contracts a degree of hatred and inveteracy against its oppressors, which renders its revenge more furious, unbounded, and, in our eyes, more cruel. If the enemy have used treacherous arts, they create distrust, and in the end form a malevolent disposition, which soon has recourse to the same baseness. At the least shadow of an injury they are up in arms, and threaten to bear down all before them: when they are actually provoked, they are ruled by no other law but that of the strongest, and exterminate their foes with a degree of fury, which is capable of the most horrid excesses *. On the contrary, a nation, which has not experienced, or has long lost the remembrance of mischievous enemies, and inveterate broils, which, by applying to agriculture, has arrived to a degree of opulence, luxury, and civilization, and acquired new and refined ideas of philanthropy, is unaccustomed to the sudden overflowings of the bile, and slow to resent an affront †. The natives of Tanna doubtless are engaged, either in civil feuds with each other, or in frequent wars

* See vol. I. p. 173.

† Ibid. p. 321.

with the adjacent islanders; their reserved and distrustful behaviour towards us at first, and their custom of going constantly armed, seems clearly to prove the truth of this assertion. We have therefore, I think, great room to believe, that the violence of resentment has insensibly led them to the custom of eating human flesh, which they practise according to their own confession. But we must still remain utterly ignorant of the reasons which induced them to prohibit our access towards the eastern point of the harbour.

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We turned back with our Indians to their great joy and satisfaction. They led us on by a path which we had never trodden before, through a variety of the richest plantations, kept in excellent order. The boys ran before us, and gave us repeated marks of their skill in warlike exercises. They flung a stone with great accuracy, and made use of a green reed, or stiff grass, in lieu of a dart. They had attained to such perfection in throwing the latter, that they never failed to hit their object, and knew to give the reed, which every breath of air might turn out of its way, so much force and moment, that it entered above an inch into the hardest wood. They poised it between the lowest joint of the thumb, and the hand, without touching it with a single finger. The youngest among them, five or six years old, already habituated themselves to this exercise, and thus prepared one day, to wield
their

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their arms with activity and effect. By various windings we came back to their habitations, where the women were employed in dressing their dinner. They had made a fire of a few sticks above ground, under the fig-tree, and broiled the roots of yams and eddoes over it. As soon as we arrived they were startled, and began to run away, but our conductors quieted them, and they continued their operations. We sat down on the trunk of a tree which lay before one of the houses, and endeavoured to talk with our new friends as well as we could, whilst some of them were gone to fetch us some refreshments. We collected a number of words of their language on this occasion, and had the pleasure to satisfy their curiosity respecting our dress, arms, and various implements, concerning which they had hitherto not ventured to ask a single question. The inhabitants of adjacent plantations hearing of our arrival, crowded about us, and seemed much pleased that they could converse amicably and familiarly with us. As I happened to hum a song, many of them very eagerly intreated me to sing to them, and though not one of us was properly acquainted with music, yet we ventured to gratify their curiosity, and in fact, offered them a great variety of different airs. Some German and English songs, especially of the more lively kind, pleased them very much; but Dr. Sparrman's Swedish tunes gained universal applause; from whence it appeared that
their

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their judgment of music was not influenced by the same rules which regulate the taste of other countries. When we had performed, we desired them in return to give us an opportunity of admiring their talents, and one of them immediately began a very simple tune; it was however harmonious, and, as far as we could judge, superior to the music of all the nations in the tropical part of the South Sea, which we had hitherto heard. It ran through a much more considerable compass of notes, than is employed at Taheitee, or even at Tonga-Tabboo; and had a serious turn which distinguished it very remarkably from the softer effeminate music of those islands. The words seemed to be metrically arranged, and flowed very currently from the tongue. When the first had finished his song, another began; his tune was different as to the composition, but had the same serious style which strongly marked the general turn of the people. They were indeed seldom seen to laugh so heartily, and jest so facetiously, as the more polished nations of the Friendly and Society Islands, who have already learnt to set a great value on these enjoyments. Our friendly natives likewise produced a musical instrument, which consisted of eight reeds, like the syrinx of Tonga-Tabboo, with this difference, that the reeds regularly decreased in size, and comprehended an octave, though the single reeds were not perfectly in tune. We might perhaps have had an opportunity of hearing them play on this instrument, had not the arrival of some of their brethren with a present of coco-nuts, yams, sugar-

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canes, and figs, obliged us in civility to transfer our attention from the musicians, to those who brought us such a valuable gift. And here I cannot but lament, that the ingenious and obliging friend, who communicated to me his remarks on the music of the Friendly Islands, of Tahitee and New Zealand, did not likewise visit the island of Tanna, which in that respect would doubtless have furnished him with some curious and useful observations.

If we have before observed the principle of revenge to have been active among the natives of Tanna, we must allow at the same time, that benevolence, and a love of the fellow-creature, are not entirely banished from their hearts. As there is the greatest reason to suppose, that their life is frequently disturbed by the troubles of war, we cannot be surpris'd at the distrust which they all expressed towards us, on the first days of our acquaintance; but as soon as they were thoroughly convinced of our harmless intentions, they naturally gave way to a contrary impulse, which nothing but the necessity of self-preservation could have silenced so long. They did not indeed trade with us, because their affluence is not yet equal to that of the Tahitians; but hospitality does not consist in exchanging an article of which you have more than a sufficiency, for another of which you stand greatly in need.

Having made various presents to our friends, to the best of our abilities; we returned down to the beach, and pass'd
some

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some time among the natives who were there assembled. We observed more women among them this day, than we had found before; most of them were married, and carried their children in a mat-fatchel on their backs. Some had baskets of a close texture, made of pliant sticks, in which they brought a brood of young chickens, whilst others had yamboos, and figs, which they presented to us. Among the rest, we saw one who had a whole basket full of green oranges, though on all our excursions we had never found a single orange-tree in the plantations. However, we were much pleased to have seen this fruit at Tanna, as well as at Mallicollo, there being great room to suppose, that it is likewise a production of the intermediate islands. We were fortunate in little acquisitions to-day; another woman gave us a pye or pudding, of which the crust or dough was made of bananas, and eddoes; and the contents were the leaves of the okra (*bibiscus esculentus*) mixed up with the kernel of a coco-nut. This pudding was exceedingly well-tasted, and shewed that the women are well skilled in cookery. We also purchased several pipes of eight reeds, which the natives brought for sale, and some bows, arrows, and clubs; with all which we returned on board, rather later in the day than usual.

After dinner we came on shore again, to be present at hauling the seine; however, when we arrived on the beach, we separated, and Dr. Sparrman went up the flat hill with

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me, to pay another visit to the natives. Some of them met us about half way, and conducted us to the huts. We were no sooner seated with the father of one of the families, a middle-aged man, of a promising countenance, than our friends importuned us to sing to them again. We readily complied with their request, and when they seemed to wonder at the difference in our songs, we endeavoured to make them comprehend that we were natives of different countries. Hearing this, they pointed at an elderly thin man in the circle of our hearers, and telling us that he was a native of Irromanga *, desired him to sing to us. The man immediately stepped forward, and began a song, in the course of which he made a variety of gesticulations, not only to our entertainment, but to the great satisfaction of all the people about him. His song was to the full as musical as that of the people of Tanna, but it seemed to be of a droll or humorous nature, from his various ludicrous postures, and from the particular tone of the whole. The language was utterly distinct from that of Tanna, but not harsh or ill-suited to music. It seemed likewise to have a certain metre, but very different from that slow and serious one which we heard this morning. It appeared to us, when he had done singing, that the people of Tanna spoke to him in his own language, but that he was not acquainted with theirs. Whether he came as a visitor, or had been

* The last island from whence we came to Tanna.

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taken prisoner, we could not determine; the natives however told us upon this occasion, that their best clubs, made of casuarina wood, came from Irromanga, so that it is probable they have an amicable intercourse, or carry on a kind of trade with the inhabitants of that island. We observed no remarkable characteristic difference in his features from those of the people of Tanna, and his custom of dressing, or rather ornamenting himself was the same. His hair was woolly, short, and therefore not divided into little *queues*. His temper was very chearful, and he appeared to be more inclined to mirth than any of the people of Tanna.

Whilst the native of Irromanga was singing, the women came out of their huts, and seated themselves in the little group which surrounded us. They were in general of a low stature, compared with the men, and wore shaggy petticoats, made of grasses and leaves, which lengthened according to their age. Such as had borne children, and seemed to be about thirty years old, had entirely lost all the feminine graces, and their petticoats descended to the ankles. Some young girls, about fourteen years of age, had very agreeable small features, and a smile which became more engaging, in proportion as their fears wore off. Their whole form was slender, their arms particularly delicate, but the bosom round and full, and the petticoats barely reaching to the knee. Their hair curling upon

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their heads, without being cut, or restrained into any particular form, had not a bad effect; and the green plantane leaf which they generally wore, instead of covering it from the sight, served rather to set off its black colour to advantage. They wore in their ears tortoise-shell rings; but we observed that the number of ornaments considerably increased with age, the oldest and ugliest being loaded with necklaces, ear-rings, nose-jewels, and bracelets. It appeared to me that the women were not held in any esteem by the men, but obeyed upon the smallest sign; and according to the accounts of our waterers (See above, p. 292.) many were seen in the humiliating guise of drudges and beasts of burden. Perhaps the laborious tasks which they are forced to perform, contribute to lessen their stature, especially if they are disproportioned to their strength. It is the practice of all uncivilized nations to deny their women the common privileges of human beings, and to treat them as creatures inferior to themselves. The ideas of finding happiness and comfort in the bosom of a companion, only arise with a higher degree of culture. Where the mind is continually occupied with the means of self-preservation; there can be but little refined sentiment in the commerce of the sexes, and nothing but brutal enjoyment is known. Infirmary and meekness, instead of finding a protector in the savage, are commonly insulted and oppressed: the love of power is so natural to mankind, that they eagerly seize every

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opportunity to exercise their superiority over those who are unable to resist. The encrease of population necessarily brings on a greater degree of polish; the cares of self-preservation are in great measure removed from the individual to the community; affluence takes the place of want and indigence, and the mind more unemployed, takes pleasure in the more refined enjoyment of life; it gives a loose to a disposition for mirth and play, and learns to set a value on the amiable qualities of the sex. The savage is not wholly incapable of tenderness and affection; we trace them in the boy whilst he remains thoughtless and free from care*; but as soon as he feels the urgent wants of his existence, every other sentiment or instinct is forced to lie dormant. We observed an instance of affection among the natives of Tanna this evening, which strongly proves that the passions and innate qualities of human nature are much the same in every climate. A little girl, about eight years old, of very agreeable features, peeped at us between the heads of the people who were seated on the ground. As soon as she found herself observed, she ran away to hide herself in the hut. I beckoned the child to come back, and shewed her a piece of Tahitee cloth, but I could not prevail on her to come and fetch it. Her father got up, and with some entreaty persuaded her to come to me. I took hold of her hand, and

* We may remember, that the attachment of the people at Tanna towards us, began with the rising generation.

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gave her the cloth, and a number of little ornaments. But I was overpaid by the pleasure of the father, the joy, the fondness which sparkled in his eyes, and lighted up his whole countenance.

We staid among these people till sunset, and were entertained with songs, and with a display of their skill. At our request they shot their arrows into the air, and at a mark. They did not force the arrow to any extraordinary height, but were very accurate marksmen at a short distance, as has been already observed. With their clubs they parried the darts of their antagonist, nearly in the same manner as I have described at Taheitee (See p. 104.) They told us that all the clubs which have a lateral blade, like a fleam (See p. 280.) are brought from the low island, which they call Immèr; but we could not learn whether they are manufactured there by the inhabitants, or whether the island is uninhabited, and they only visit it occasionally, to gather shells and to cut wood. Before we left the huts, the women had lighted several fires in and about them, and began to dress their suppers. The natives all huddled about these fires, and seemed to feel the evening air rather too cool for their naked bodies. Several of them had a swelling in the upper eye-lid, which we attributed in some measure to this practice of sitting in the smoak. It impeded their sight so much, that they were obliged to lean their heads backwards, till the eye was in a horizontal line with

with the object which they wished to behold. This complaint was the more remarkable, as it extended to several little boys five and six years old; from whence we suspected that it was perhaps propagated from one generation to another.

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When we arrived on the beach, almost all the natives had left it, and in a short time we were left entirely to ourselves. To us, who were provided with cloaths, the cool of the evening was delightful, and we rambled about the deserted woods till the twilight had entirely disappeared. A prodigious number of bats of a small size fluttered about us, coming out of every bush; but our endeavours to shoot at them were entirely unsuccessful, for we could not see them till they were close to us, and they were instantly out of sight again. Our people having replaced their nets in the boats, after toiling a long time with no other success than a dozen or two of fish, which all together might weigh thirty pounds, we embarked likewise, and returned on board to rest from our excursion.

The next morning captain Cook, Mr. Wales, Mr. Patton, and several other gentlemen, who were desirous to examine the volcano, set out with Dr. Sparrman, my father, myself, and two men, and walked up the hill on the west side of the bay. The weather was foggy, heavy, and sultry, but the volcano was quiet. We soon reached the solfatara, where the hot steam rose plentifully. The experiment to
measure

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measure the degree of heat was repeated as on the 12th, with this difference, that the thermometer was entirely buried in the white earth where the vapour came up. After it had remained one minute in this state, it rose to 210° , which is nearly the heat of boiling water, and remained stationary there as long as we kept it in the hole, which was for the space of five minutes. As soon as it was taken out, it fell instantly to 95° , and gradually descended to 80° , where it had stood previous to the immersion. The perpendicular height of the first solfatara, above the level of the sea, is about 80 yards. We proceeded up the hill, and saw several extensive spots of ground which had been cleared of wood in order to be cultivated. The wretched tools of the natives, and the necessity of working very slowly with them, to which we had been witnesses on the other hill, convinced us that this piece of ground, which comprehended near two acres, must have required a great deal of labour and a long space of time to clear. We passed by some dwellings, but did not see a native stirring, till we came to another plantation in very good order, where a single man was planting some yams. He was at first a little startled at our appearance, but on asking him the way to the volcano, he pointed out a path and returned to his former employment. We saw some hogs and poultry in the neighbourhood of these houses, which were permitted to roam about unconfined; but perhaps the fences which the natives

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natives form round some of their plantations, may be intended to exclude the hogs. A little farther on we were met by two natives, who came out of an adjacent garden of bananas, and continued to walk with us. Coming to a place where the path divided, another man appeared in that part which led into the country, and with his uplifted dart prohibited our advancing that way. We told him we were desirous of going to the volcano, and he presently pointed out the other path to us, and went before to lead the way. As we advanced, we took notice that he continually counted over our number; and having brought us to a clear part of the hill, from whence a considerable space of country could be overlooked, we discovered that he had misled us, and attempted to bring us off our road. We therefore returned the same way we came, in spite of his signs, which he did not think proper to enforce at present with any hostile gestures. However, seeing us determined to proceed against his will, he blew with great force into his hand several times, and was soon answered by the sounding of several conchs on different parts of the hill. He now called out as loud as he could, and we plainly heard him mention how many there were of us, probably desiring his countrymen to assemble and oppose us. In the meanwhile we lost our road and came into a fine secluded dell, surrounded by trees of prodigious height and extent, where numbers of pigeons and parroquets fluttered about. We

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passed some time in shooting here, whilst several of the natives still continued with us, especially a couple of little boys, to whom we made some presents to gain their goodwill. From hence we proceeded into a dark path, which had many various windings, and at once opened upon a clear spot, surrounded by three or four houses of the same dimensions as those where old Paw-yangom dwelt. Here about a dozen men, well armed with bows and arrows, clubs and darts, were sitting on their hams in a row, who instantly started up at sight of us. We beckoned to them, and made signs that we meant no harm, but they seemed not to trust us entirely. Some elderly men among them seemed to have pacific intentions, but two or three young fellows frowned, and made several motions with their arms, which, though not exactly directed towards us, yet might have been construed into a provocation if we had been very irascible. We concluded it was best to return, and desired them to shew us the road to the sea. We could not have hit upon a better method of quieting their distrust and apprehensions at once. Some of them went before us down a narrow path, which was rather steep at first but became more easy afterwards. Having descended about a quarter of a mile, they desired us to stop and take some repose, and several of their brethren came to us loaded with coco-nuts, bananas, and abundance of sugar-canes. The sultriness of the weather made these refreshments very acceptable. We
gave

gave the Indians several presents in return, and were well pleased that it was only from distrust, and not real malevolence, that they had collected together to oppose our progress into the country. After a walk of half an hour we returned to the beach from whence we had set out, and happily ended an excursion which might, with a little more rashness on our part, have proved fatal not only to the natives, but, in the end, to ourselves. We were forced to give up all hopes of approaching the volcano; but it is surely adviseable to abandon a pursuit where knowledge cannot be obtained without bloodshed and injustice.

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During our walk, our people had hauled the seine with the flood-tide, and obtained a small quantity of fish, among which we found a new species. The pond of fresh water likewise furnished us with a new sort of fish, and the seamen caught a number of mud eels in it. With these fish, and several new plants collected on the hill, we returned on board, and passed the afternoon in describing and drawing them.

We resumed our excursions into the country the next morning. The trade for yams and for the weapons of the natives was still carried on, but tortoise-shell was so scarce in the ship that we could make but a small purchase of provisions. The mother of pearl fish-hooks of the Friendly Islands, which had the barb of tortoise-shell, were in great request, and our seamen could sometimes obtain a handful

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of arrows for one of them; whereas another fish-hook, equally good, but with a mother of pearl barb, was not esteemed by the natives. We rambled about among the woods on the plain, and shot several birds, of which this island has a great variety. We also met with a number of East-Indian plants* which we had never observed in the more easterly islands. But the most valuable acquisition, in our opinion, was a pigeon, of the sort which is common at the Friendly Islands. This bird had the sides of its bill covered with a red substance, and, upon farther examination, had in its mouth and craw two nutmegs, recently swallowed. They were still surrounded by a scarlet coating, which was their mace, and had a bitter aromatic taste, but no smell. The nutmeg itself was considerably more oblong than the true spice of that name, but had likewise a very bitter and aromatic taste. We soon met with a native, to whom we shewed the fruit, and desired him to point out the tree on which it grew, offering him a mother of pearl shell for his trouble. He conducted us about half a mile up into the country to a young tree, which, as he affirmed, bore the nutmeg. We gathered its leaves, but saw no fruit, which the native said had all been eaten by the pigeons. The name of the fruit, in the language of the country, was

* The *sterculia balanghas*, *sterculia fœtida*, *dioscorea oppositifolia*, *ricinus mappæ*, *acanthus ilicifolius*, *ischæmum muticum*, *panicum dimidiatum*, *croton variegatum*, and many others.

guannatàn. We heard some muskets fired, which had an unusual report, and made us apprehensive that some disturbance had happened, especially as we thought we understood something to that purpose from the mouth of a native who passed by us coming from the beach. We therefore hastened to the sea-side, but soon found that every thing had been quiet there. However, shewing the leaves of the tree, which we had received as belonging to the nutmeg-tree, all the natives on the beach agreed in giving it a different name from that which our guide had told us, though he endeavoured to cover his deceit by telling his countrymen to name the leaf as he had done. We expressed strong marks of indignation at his behaviour, and the other natives likewise rebuked him.

In the afternoon captain Cook, with lieutenants Cooper and Pickersgill, Mr. Patton, Mr. Hodges, Dr. Sparrman, my father, and myself, went upon the flat hill to the eastward, and passed through the plantation to the sea-shore on the other side. The Isle of Anattom, which the captain was particularly desirous to see, was for the greatest part involved in haze. We returned therefore leisurely through other gardens, shooting several birds, till we came to the huts of our friendly Indians. The father of the child which I mentioned page 325, brought me a present of bananas, sugar-canes, and coco-nuts, and thus confirmed us in the good opinion we had formed of his sensibility.

Mr.

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Mr. Hodges made several sketches of views, and particularly drew this little farm, with a group of natives of both sexes, seated under the shady branches of the fig-tree. From thence he afterwards composed an elegant picture, which is engraved for captain Cook's account of this voyage, and gives a perfect idea of the island of Tanna, and its inhabitants. Towards sun-set we returned on board.

Tuesday 16.

The next morning we came ashore again, and immediately walked into the woods on the plain. We saw a great number of large and beautiful parroquets, of black, red, and yellow plumage; but they kept on the tops of the highest fig-trees, where they were wholly out of the reach of small shot, guarded by the thick foliage. The size of these trees can scarcely be imagined. Their roots grow above ground a considerable part of their length, and converge together into one enormous stem about ten or twelve feet above the surface. This stem which is frequently no less than three yards in diameter, seems to consist of several trees grown together, which form every where sharp longitudinal angles, projecting above three feet from the main body. Thus it rises thirty or forty feet, before it divides into branches, which are above a yard in diameter. These run up nearly to the same height without dividing, and the summit of the tree is at least one hundred and fifty feet high. The place where they were most frequent, was a marsh or swamp, occasioned by several branches of the
same

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same pond, from which we supplied our ship with fresh water. We were not able to determine whether this pond is the remains of a river, coming from the inland mountains, and losing itself in the volcanic sand and ashes which cover the plain ; or whether it is only the produce of the rains in the summer months. It had innumerable quantities of musketoos which were very troublesome to us, and was likewise the abode of rails and ducks, of which we could never obtain any, though they appeared to be of a new species. We walked on through the plain, keeping on its western part, and crossed several spots, which being covered with grasses, resembled our meadows, but were much overrun with bind-weeds, and separated from each other by wild shrubberies which had the effect of hedges. Now and then we met with great spots entirely covered with tall reeds (*Saccharum spontaneum*, Linn.) which we could hardly imagine to have grown in such great quantities without cultivation. They supply the natives with shafts for their arrows, and are made use of in basket-work, fences, &c. Beyond these fields we came into a forest, consisting of trees of the same sort with those which cover the western shores of the bay. Here we shot a species of wild dove hitherto unknown to naturalists, and saw some parrots, which were excessively shy, and may perhaps be scared by the natives, whose orchards they infest. Advancing still farther we came into a hollow road, which appeared

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peared to have been formed by a current of water, but was perfectly dry at present, and served as a path to the natives. Its sides were fringed in the most beautiful manner with shrubberies and palms; and in one part a huge venerable fig-tree (*ficus religiosa*, Linn.) of the same sort to which the Cinghalese and natives of Malabar pay a particular regard*, struck its roots into both sides, and formed an astonishing vaulted arch over the lane, which was at least five yards wide. A prodigious number of birds, of a very diminutive size, fluttered about on its uppermost branches, and picked off the fruit. We rested some time under its shade, whilst several natives passed by, who did not express the least uneasiness at sight of us, and with perfect unconcern heard our fowling-pieces fired at birds. Towards noon we returned to the sea side, and though the weather was very hot, yet as we walked almost continually in the shade, we felt no inconvenience. Before we came to the watering-place, we passed through a shrubbery, where we found a native at work cutting sticks, on which the climbing stalks of the yams (*dioscorea oppositifolia*) are supported. Seeing that he cut them very slowly with his hatchet, which had only a bit of shell in lieu of a blade, we began to help him with an English hatchet, and in a few minutes cut a much greater heap than he had done the whole day. The

* They make sacrifices under its shade, where some of their divinities are said to have been born.

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natives who were now frequently passing, as the hour of their meals was at hand, stood still, and expressed the greatest astonishment at the extreme utility of this tool, and some were very desirous to possess it, by offering their bows and arrows for it. We thought this was a favourable opportunity to encourage them to part with their hogs, and told them we would exchange our hatchet for one of these animals; but they were deaf to this proposal, and never sold us a single hog during our stay. Having shewn them the wild nutmeg which we had found in the pigeon's craw the day before, one of them produced three others, which were wrapped in their mace, but could not point out the tree on which they grew. They gave these nuts several different names, and told us they grew on a tree called *neerafb*. On having recourse to our books, we found that this species has some resemblance to the wild nutmeg of Rumphius, and seems to be exactly the same with a sort which is found in the Philipinas. The pigeon which feeds upon it at Tanna is the same which Rumphius describes as the disseminator of the true nutmeg at the Spice Islands, and we had the honour of presenting one alive to her majesty.

We found a very old decrepit man sitting on the beach whom we had never seen before. Many among the croud told us his name was Yogàï, and that he was their *areekee*. He was of a tall stature, but very lean and worn out; his face was wrinkled, his head almost entirely bald, and what

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little hair remained was perfectly grey. There was however an expression of kindness in his features, which preserved the vestiges of a former manly beauty. Near him sat another person, who might have passed for an old man, if he had not been in company with the former. The rest of the people told us he was the son of Yogäi, and named Yatta. He was likewise a tall man, but well-proportioned, and remarkably well-featured for a native of Tanna. His hair was black, frizzled, and almost woolly, but not dressed; and he had a very engaging, sensible look, which expressed great good-nature towards the strangers. The natives acquainted us that he was the *kou-vof*, which we suppose to be a title perhaps equivalent to such expressions as "successor, heir, prince of the blood," and the like, which are used in civilized countries. As their colour was exactly the same with that of the common people, for they were both of a very blackish or footy complexion, we took particular care to examine whether there was any difference between their ornaments and those of the rest of the natives; but all the distinction which we could observe, consisted in the kind of sash, or cloth, which they wore round their body as a belt. The sashes of the common people were of an uniform cinnamon, or brownish-yellow colour; but these two chiefs wore them painted with black lines, and chequered with compartments of black and red: however, it is not improbable that even this variation is merely accidental,

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dental, and by no means considered as a mark of royalty by the natives. Upon the whole, no deference was paid to these two persons, if we except the title of chiefs, with which they were distinguished. We never observed either of them to issue any command, and it is very probable that their orders are only obeyed in time of war. At such a period, the people readily give up their judgment to the experience of hoary age, and follow its counsels instead of laws. They implicitly trust their lives and fortunes to the conduct of a man, whose superior valour, and consummate art, they acknowledge with one common voice. We made them some trifling presents, and gave them an invitation to come on board, which they declined. We then embarked in one of the boats, in order to go to dinner. Our people brought off a great quantity of clubwood (*casuarina*) from the shore, having cut down a stately tree of this sort, which grew upon the edge of the flat hill. They began to saw it the preceding afternoon; but Paw-yangom came to captain Cook to complain, because this tree is highly valued at Tanna, and so very scarce, that they are obliged to go to Irromanga, where it grows more plentifully, in order to supply themselves with clubs. Captain Cook immediately ordered the workmen to leave it; but afterwards finding that it was cut so far that it could not grow any more, he gave the old man a dog, a quantity of Taheitee cloth, and several other articles, for which he agreed that we should take the tree,

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and the inhabitants in his neighbourhood seemed perfectly satisfied. Paw-yangom, no doubt, was a man of some weight among the people who dwelt on the flat hill, and it is not unlikely that his age alone had entitled him to some deference. The government of the people of Tanna seems to be in its infant state, and every family is guided by the advice of the oldest men, their patriarchs, who never exercise their authority in a severe or tyrannical manner.

Wednesd. 17.

We returned into the woods again after dinner, but made an unsuccessful excursion, having now searched the same spots almost every day since our arrival on the island. The next morning we renewed our rambles, in hopes of meeting by accident with the nutmeg-tree. We passed some time in a fine plantation of bananas close to the western corner of the beach, where a number of parrots destroyed the fruit; but they were so extremely shy, that we attempted in vain to come at them. Having taken a long walk into the country, during which we frequently separated from each other to a considerable distance, as we had now nothing to apprehend from the inhabitants, we came back to the beach. We found the last boat ready to put off, and returned to the ship, where we found the old chief Yogai, his son Yatta, and a well-made boy, about fourteen years old, named Narrep, who appeared to be nearly related to them. They were all seated on the floor of the cabin when we came in, and captain Cook had given them a variety of presents of all kinds. The old
man.

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man had received them with the indifference natural at his age; but his son, and above all the boy Narrep, were extremely well pleased with the civilities which had been shewn them. We invited them to dinner, and they ate of some yams, but would not touch any other food, behaving nearly as Fanòkko, our former visitor, had done (See p. 288.) As soon as we had dined, we embarked with them, and brought them to the beach, where the other natives conversed with them, and seemed to be highly pleased with the deference which we had paid to their chiefs. The number of natives on the beach now rarely ever amounted to one hundred, including women and children, who commonly sat down in several groups under the shade of the bushes. From time to time they brought us a yam or a bunch of bananas, for which they took Taheitee cloth in exchange. The women sometimes had baskets full of yamboo apples, (*eugenia*,) which they sold for trifles, such as small bits of green nephritic stone, black beads, and the like, and, as it seemed, more to shew their good will, than from any value which they set upon those articles. The civility of the natives was, upon the whole, very conspicuous towards us. If they met us in a narrow path, they always stepped aside into the bushes and grasses in order to make way for us. If they happened to know our names, they pronounced them with a smile, which could be extremely well understood.

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stood as a salutation ; or, if they had not seen us before, they commonly enquired our names in order to know us again. On the beach we had for some days left off stretching ropes to reserve a clear spot for our waterers and woodcutters ; only a centry was placed on each side, beyond whom they never ventured to advance, unless they came fresh from the country, and were unacquainted with our regulations. In short, the change which our little stay among them had wrought in their opinion of us was already very remarkable, and continued every day to turn more in our favour. Yogaï and Yatta, with Narrep and several other natives, left the beach very soon, and returned through the woods to their own homes, which they pointed at as far distant from the bay. As soon as they were gone, captain Cook went in his boat with us to the people who loaded ballast under the western hill. Here we examined the hot-springs which we had discovered on the 9th, having taken a thermometer for that purpose, which had stood at 78° on board the ship, but being carried close to the body had risen to 83° . When the bulb was plunged into the hot-spring the mercury rose to 191° in the space of five minutes. We then took it out, and enlarged the hole by clearing away the sand and stones, through which the water oozed and ran into the sea. Having replaced the thermometer so that it was immersed considerably above
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the bulb, it rose again to 191° , and continued there upwards of ten minutes longer. We threw some small shell-fish into the spring, and they were boiled in two or three minutes. A piece of silver, after lying in the water above half an hour, came out perfectly bright and untarnished. Salt of tartar had no visible effect upon it; but still, as we observed a kind of astringency in its taste, we filled a bottle with it, and shut it up close, in order to make more accurate and complicate experiments with it after our return*. We observed a great number of little fishes, not above two inches long, skipping about the wet rocks like lizards, to which they bore a great resemblance. Their pectoral fins performed the functions of feet, and their eyes were placed near the summit of the head, in order to guard them against all their enemies when they are out of the water. These little amphibious animals were indeed so cautious and so nimble at the same time, that it was with great difficulty we caught them. They could leap the length of a yard with great ease, and belonged to the genus of *blennies*. The same or a similar species of fish had been observed on the coast of New Holland by captain Cook in the Endeavour†. In one place we found them very active in destroying a brood of minute young crickets, which appeared to have been washed out of a crevice in the rock.

* This bottle, full of the same water, is still in my father's possession.

† See Hawkesworth, vol. III. p. 529.

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Thursday 18.

Captain Cook set out again with us the next morning, to examine the hot springs at low water, the experiments of the preceding day being made during flood-tide, about half past four o'clock. We immersed the thermometer, which in the open air had stood at 78° , and the quicksilver rose to 187° , after lying one minute and a half in the hot water. This difference, from the former heat of 191° , was rather surprising, especially as the springs issued so near the level of the sea, that some of them were covered at high water, might therefore be expected to be cooled by the mixture. We concluded that some other cause besides the tides influenced the relative heat of these springs, and we were confirmed in this supposition by examining another spring which came out upon the great beach to the south, at its westernmost corner. Here, at the foot of a perpendicular rock, forming part of the mountain to the west, on which the solfataras were situated, the hot water bubbles up out of the black sand, and runs into the sea, which likewise covers it at the flood-tide. In the space of a minute the thermometer, after being placed in this new spring, rose to $202\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, and remained at this degree several minutes. It should seem that these springs are heated by the volcano, and run under ground till they find an issue. The fire of that mountain in all probability is not always equally violent, and gradually cools in the intervals between its eruptions. Different parts of it may likewise have

have various degrees of heat, and the different springs, by passing over a longer or shorter space, must lose more or less of their original heat. The solfataras on the hill directly above these springs, are in my opinion connected with them; and the steam which rises from thence, through subterraneous crevices, may be part of the same water, ascending before it can be condensed into a continued fluid, by the coolness of the ground over which it is carried. The volcano had been quiet for two days past, and offered no new phenomena, from whence any of these circumstances might have been better explained.

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We passed the day before and after noon, in the plain behind the watering-place, and collected the flowers of an unknown sort of tree, which we could obtain no other way, than by shooting at them. In the evening the seine was hauled, and we caught about two hundred weight of fish, which afforded another, though rather scanty fresh meal to the whole ship's company. Dr. Sparrman went up the flat hill with me, where we passed about half an hour very agreeably with our friends the natives, who made us a present of fruit at parting. We amused them as usual by singing to them, and they became so familiar at last as to point out some girls to us, whom from an excess of hospitality not uncommon with uncivilized nations, they offered to their friends with gestures not in the least equivocal. The women, at the first hint of the civility which the

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men intended to confer upon us, ran off to a great distance seemingly much frightened, and shocked at their indelicacy. Our Indians, and particularly the young people, were very desirous that we should pursue the girls, whether only to frighten them or not, we could not ascertain. However, they seemed to be very well pleased, that we did not take the hint ; and we parted from them, after distributing several presents, and especially some mother of pearl hooks with tortoise-shell barbs.

Friday 19.

The next morning we were ready for sailing, having taken in a sufficient quantity of ballast, wood, and fresh-water ; only the wind, which blew right into the harbour, prevented our putting to sea. We went on shore after breakfast, with the captain, and a party of people ; and he continued to trade with the natives, whilst we went into the country. We soon separated, and each of us went by himself to a different part. I passed by a number of natives in their way to the beach ; but they all stepped out of the path to make room for me, though I was without any companion, and not one of them attempted with a look or gesture to offend me. I strolled alone several miles in the back of the flat hill, or in the valley along its south-side, to a part where I had never been before. The path which I followed was hid in the thickest groves, from whence I could only now and then discern the extensive plantations which covered the whole slope of the hill. Here

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I frequently saw the natives employed in cutting down trees, or pruning them, or digging up the ground with a branch of a tree, instead of a spade, or planting yams, and other roots; and in one place, I heard a man singing at his work, nearly the same tune which they used to sing to us on the hill. The prospect which I beheld was so pleasing, that it did not fall much short of the beautiful scenes of Taheitee. It had this advantage besides, that all the country about me to a great distance, consisted of gentle elevations, and spacious vallies, all which were capable of culture; whereas at Taheitee the mountains rose immediately craggy, wild, and majestic from the plain, which has no where the breadth of two miles. The plantations at Tanna consist, for the greatest part of yams, bananas, eddoes, and sugar-canes, all which being very low*, permit the eye to take in a great extent of country. Single tufted trees rise in different places, and amuse the beholder with a variety of romantic forms. The whole summit of the level hill which bounds a part of the horizon, appears shaggy with little groves, where a number of lofty palms rise over the rest of the trees.

Those who are capable of being delighted with the beauties of nature, which deck the globe for the gratification of man, may conceive the pleasure which is derived from

* The tallest banana-tree does not exceed ten feet, and in general they are about six feet high.

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every little object, trifling in itself, but important in the moment when the heart is expanded, and when a kind of blissful trance opens a higher and purer sphere of enjoyment. Then we behold with rapture the dark colour of lands fresh prepared for culture, the uniform verdure of meadows, the various tints upon the foliage of different trees, and the infinite varieties in the abundance, form, and size of the leaves. Here these varieties appeared in all their perfection, and the different exposure of the trees to the sun added to the magnificence of the view. Some reflected a thousand dancing beams, whilst others formed a broad mass of shadow, in contrast with the surrounding world of light. The numerous smokes which ascended from every grove on the hill, revived the pleasing impressions of domestic life; nay my thoughts naturally turned upon friendship and national felicity, when I beheld large fields of plantanes all round me, which, loaded with golden clusters of fruit, seemed to be justly chosen the emblems of peace and affluence. The cheerful voice of the labouring husbandman resounded very opportunely to complete this idea. The landscape to the westward was not less admirable than that of which I have just now spoken. The rich plain was bounded on that side by a vast number of fertile hills, covered with forests, interspersed with plantations, and beyond them rose a ridge of high mountains, not inferior to those of the Society Islands, though apparently

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ly of a much easier slope. The solitary spot from whence I beheld this rural scene was likewise favoured by nature. It was a delightful cluster of trees, which climbers and bindweeds decked with odoriferous blossoms. The richness of the soil was here extremely remarkable; for though I beheld many palms which the winds had thrown down*, yet most of them bent their summits upwards from the ground, and sent forth new shoots with surprising luxuriance. Their branches were the resort of various birds, adorned with the brightest colours, which now and then struck the ear with an unexpected song not destitute of harmony. The serenity of the air, and the coolness of the breeze, contributed to make my situation still more agreeable. The mind at rest, and lulled by this train of pleasing ideas, indulged a few fallacious reflections, which encreased its happiness at that instant by representing mankind in a favourable light. We had now passed a fortnight amidst a people who received us with the strongest symptoms of distrust, and who prepared to repel every hostile act with vigour. Our cool deliberate conduct, our moderation, and the constant uniformity in all our proceedings, had conquered their jealous fears. They, who in all probability had never dealt with such a set of inoffensive, peaceable, and

* The roots of the coco-palm are naturally extremely short, and consist of innumerable fibres; but at Tanna the soil, though rich and fertile, is so extremely loose, that it does not require a great storm to overturn the trees which grow in it.

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yet not despicable men ; they who had been used to see in every stranger a base and treacherous enemy, now learnt from us to think more nobly of their fellow-creatures. Prudence, which accompanied the civilized voyagers, had no sooner fascinated the instinct of the savages, watchful for their safety, than another, no less powerful, awoke in their breast, and taught them to relish the sweets of society. They shared the abundant produce of their soil with their new acquaintance, being no longer apprehensive that they would take it by force. They permitted us to visit them in their shady recesses, and we sat down in their domestic circles with that harmony which befits the members of one great family. In a few days they began to feel a pleasure in our conversation, and a new disinterested sentiment, of more than earthly mould, even friendship, filled their heart. This retrospect was honourable to human nature, as it made us the benefactors of a numerous race. I fell from hence into a reverie on the pre-eminence of our civilized society, from which I was roused by the sound of approaching steps. I turned about and saw Dr. Sparrman, to whom I pointed out the prospect and communicated my ideas. We agreed in our sentiments, and set out on our return, as the hour of noon was approaching. The first native whom we met ran out of the way and hid himself in a bush. The next was a woman at the entrance of a plantation, to whom we appeared so unexpectedly, that she had no time to escape.

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She offered us a basket full of yamboos, with a trembling hand, and with all the expressions of fear strongly marked in her countenance. We were surprised at this behaviour, and giving her some small trifles proceeded in our way. A number of men stood behind the bushes in and about the plantation, and made signs to us to walk on by waving their hands towards the beach. At last, when we stepped out of the wood, we beheld two natives seated on the grass, holding one of their brethren dead in their arms. They pointed to a wound in his side, which had been made by a musket-ball, and with a most affecting look they told us "he is killed *." We looked hastily towards the station of our people, and seeing them deserted by the natives, hurried to join them, and learn the particulars of this shocking event. A sentinel had been posted as usual to keep the natives at a distance from our party, but the sailors took the liberty of walking and trading freely among them. A native, who in all likelihood had never been on the beach before, came through the croud and began to walk across the space which our people occupied. The sentry pushed him back among the rest of his brethren, who were already accustomed to this injurious treatment, and acquiesced in it. The new-comer, however, refused to be controuled on his own island by a stranger; he prepared once more to cross the area, perhaps with no other motive at present than that:

* In their language they express this more strikingly by one word, *markom*.

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of asserting his liberty of walking where he pleased. The sentry drove him back once more, with a rude thrust sufficient to rouse a man much less irascible than a savage. He, to vindicate his right, laid an arrow on his bow, which he aimed at the aggressor; but the soldier instantly levelled his musket and shot him dead. Captain Cook landed in the same moment; he saw the native fall, and many of his countrymen running off to hide themselves from the cruel and treacherous people who had polluted their island. He commanded the soldier to be loaded with irons, and sent him on board the ship. He next endeavoured to appease the natives, and the natural excellence of the human heart is such, that several, especially those who came from the flat eastern hill, were persuaded to stay, and once more to trust those who had so grievously violated the laws of hospitality. Dr. Sparrman and myself were struck with the moderation of the people, who had suffered us to pass by them unmolested, when they might easily have taken a severe revenge for the murder of their countryman. We went on board with captain Cook, greatly apprehensive for the safety of my father, who still remained in the woods, accompanied by a single sailor. We had, however, the satisfaction to see him safe about a quarter of an hour after, among the party of marines who were left on the beach to protect some of our water-casks. A boat was immediately sent off, which brought him on board. He had met with the same
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good treatment from the natives as ourselves; they had learnt to know our disposition, and seemed to be too good tempered to confound the innocent with the guilty. Thus one dark and detestable action effaced all the hopes with which I had flattered myself. The natives, instead of looking upon us in a more favourable light, than upon other strangers, had reason to detest us much more, as we came to destroy under the specious mask of friendship; and some amongst us lamented that instead of making amends at this place for the many rash acts which we had perpetrated at almost every island in our course, we had wantonly made it the scene of the greatest cruelty. Captain Cook resolved to punish the marine with the utmost rigour for having transgressed his positive orders, according to which the choleric emotions of the savage were to be repressed with gentleness, and prudently suffered to cool. But the officer who commanded on shore, declared that he had not delivered these orders to the sentry, but given him others which imported, that the least threat was to be punished with immediate death. The soldier was therefore immediately cleared, and the officer's right to dispose of the lives of the natives remained uncontroverted.

We came on shore again after dinner, where our people hauled the seine, and caught a few fish. The natives on the beach were very few in number, and chiefly without arms; the murder of their countryman seemed to be for-

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gotten, or at least they seemed to have forgiven it in their hearts. My father, with Dr. Sparrman and myself, walked about on the plain, and shot some birds. We only met a single native, who at sight of us immediately struck into a different path, and walked very swiftly to escape us. We called to him, and making all the friendly signs which we could invent, at last prevailed on him to turn back. He approached us with distrust and apprehension marked in every gesture; however, by making him some presents, his fears were removed, mutual confidence took place, and we parted very good friends. It was late in the evening when we left the shore with all our people.

Saturday 20.

Early in the morning several canoes of the natives got under sail, and went out of the harbour. Their form resembled that of the canoes at the Friendly Islands, but with this difference, that the workmanship was very inferior at Tanna. They have out-riggers to all their canoes, and some may contain twenty people. Their sails were low triangular mats, of which the broadest part is uppermost, and the sharp angle below. A long piece of timber, hollowed out in the middle, forms the bottom of the canoe, and upon this one or two planks are fixed, forming the two sides, by means of ropes of the coco-nut fibres. These ropes are drawn through the round holes in several knobs on the inside of the planks, by which means the latter are not pierced with a single hole. Their oars are ill-shaped,
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and very clumsily made. It seems the fabrick of a boat is so tedious an enterprize to people who are in a continual state of warfare, that they cannot spend much time in polishing the timbers, and giving them that perfection and elegance, which is conspicuous in the manufactures of the Friendly Islands.

The wind being favourable to our departure at present, we weighed the anchor, and set sail, after a stay of sixteen days. The island of Tanna is situated in $19^{\circ} 30'$ S. lat. and $169^{\circ} 38'$ E. long. and I believe does not exceed twenty-four leagues in circuit. A clayey sort of stone, mixed with pieces of chalk-stones, forms most of the rocks which we examined. It is commonly of a brownish or yellowish colour, and lies in strata nearly horizontal, about six inches thick. In a few places we observed a soft black stone, composed of the ashes and sherls thrown up by the volcano, mixed with clay; or with a sort of tripoly, which is called rotten-stone by some miners. This substance sometimes forms alternate strata with the black stone. The same volcanic sand, mixed with vegetable mold, forms the rich soil of this island, on which, as I have already mentioned, all vegetables thrive with uncommon luxuriance. The volcano which burns on the island, doubtless works a great change in its mineral productions, and might perhaps have afforded some new observations, if the jealousy of the natives had not continually prevented our examining it. We

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found native sulphur in the white earth which covers the solfataras, from whence the aqueous streams arise. The taste of this earth was strongly aluminous, and it may perhaps be impregnated with particles of that salt. We likewise met with a red bolus near these places, and observed a white selenitic stone among the natives, which they wear as an ornament in the cartilage between the nostrils. We found some specimens of strong lavas; but as we could not come near the volcano, we never met with them in any quantity. The hot springs have a kind of astringency in the taste, which gives us some reason to suspect that they contain mineral particles; but we had no opportunity to make experiments on board with the water which we brought from thence. The only remark of any consequence, is a confirmation of a former well-known fact with regard to volcanos, viz. that these burning mountains are not always the highest in the whole ridge, as in Peru and Sicily, but that they sometimes break out in a secondary ridge, and are even of an inconsiderable height. As there are instances in the Açores, and in the Archipelago, that volcanic eruptions have forced their way through the sea from the unfathomable bottom, this circumstance would be of less consequence, if it had not disagreed with the opinion of the great naturalist, M. de Buffon. He asserts, that the highest mountains alone are the seat of volcanic fires, being desirous to remove these fires as far from the centre of the earth as possible.

possible. Another observation which we made seems to prove, that the eruptions commonly succeeded after showers of rain; but so short a stay as ours is insufficient to give this remark its necessary weight, though it coincides with the conjectures which have hitherto been made concerning the causes of subterraneous fires. The vegetable productions of Tanna are very rich and various. The forests are filled with plants, of which a great number were new to us, and some were species hitherto known only in the East Indian islands. The cultivated grounds likewise contain a great variety of plants which are unknown in the Society and Friendly Islands, and no less than forty different species are cultivated. Among the spontaneous plants, we ought particularly to repeat the mention of the nutmeg, in defence of Quiros's veracity, who asserts that he found it in Tierra del Espíritu Santo, which doubtless belongs to this group of islands. Whether oranges are cultivated, or grow wild, is uncertain, as we never met with a single tree that bore them, but were obliged to content ourselves with the fruit, which the women sometimes sold to us.

The animal creation in Tanna is likewise numerous and beautiful. Shells indeed are scarce upon the coast, and the natives go in quest of them to other islands, setting some value also upon large mother of pearl shells. Fish, on the contrary, are numerous, and in great variety: with the seine and hook we caught mullet (*mullus*), Brazilian pike, garfish, dolphins,

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dolphins, cavalhas, parrot-fish, sting-rays, toothless-rays, angel-fish, sharks, and sucking-fish, as well as several species of mackrel and mullet (*mugil*). The woods contained a variety of birds, especially several sorts of pigeons, parrots, and fly-catchers. Among the latter we found a species which is likewise to be met with in New Zealand. The Ceylanese owl, a species of creeper, a sort of duck, and a purple water-hen, were likewise seen; but all in general were remarkably shy, which seems to indicate their being pursued by the natives. The only tame fowls are the common cock and hen; and the only domestic quadrupeds are hogs. Rats and bats, both which I have already mentioned, form the only two wild species of quadrupeds.

Tanna, thus well supplied by nature, and blessed with the mild influence of a tropical climate, contains a race of men in a much inferior state of civilization, than the natives of the Friendly and Society Islands, who live nearly in the same parallel, but to the eastward. I am of opinion, we rate the population of Tanna very high, when we suppose it to amount to twenty thousand persons. The plantations seem to bear a small proportion to the wild forests, wherever we walked about in the island, only excepting the flat hill along the eastern shore of the bay, which is indeed the richest spot I ever beheld in the South Seas. The excellence of the soil, instead of being an advantage to cultivation in its infant state, is rather of disservice; as all
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kinds of wild trees, bushes and weeds, are with the greatest difficulty rooted out, and propagate with luxuriance, either from seeds, or from the roots. Cultivated vegetables, being of a more weakly and delicate nature, are easily oppressed and suffocated by the indigenous wild tribes, till repeated labours succeed at last to bring them to a flourishing state. These two circumstances together strongly indicate, that the nation which inhabits Tanna is not very numerous, in proportion to the extent of that island. The people seem to live dispersed in small villages, consisting of a few families; and their constant custom of going armed is a certain sign that they formerly had, and probably still have, wars with neighbouring islanders, or quarrels amongst themselves. If I might venture a conjecture, founded upon the languages which we heard spoken in the island, I should suppose that several tribes of different nations have peopled the island of Tanna, and may have disputed the possession of the ground with each other. Besides the common language of the island, and besides a dialect of that of the Friendly Islands, we collected some words of a third language, chiefly current among the inhabitants of its western hills; and we particularly obtained the numerals of all the three tongues, which are indeed totally distinct. In the common language of Tanna, we met with two or three words, which have a clear affinity with the language of Mallicollo, and about the same number correspond with some

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some words of the Malay ; but in general they are wholly unlike each other, and related to no other tongue that I know of. There is a strong kind of aspiration, and a guttural sound, in many words at Tanna, which are, however, very sonorous and full of vowels, and therefore easily pronounced.

The small size of the islands in the South Sea, and the want of wild quadrupeds on them, have totally prevented their first settlers from living by the chase, the usual occupation of savages. This confined space likewise did not allow them to breed numerous herds of domestic animals, and obliged them to have recourse to the cultivation of the soil for their immediate subsistence, especially when they could not support themselves by fishing. It has been the salutary consequence of this early application to rural œconomy, to facilitate civilization. All the nations of tropical islands in the South Sea have fixed habitations, and it is only the degree of elegance and convenience which distinguishes their different progress in culture. The people of Tanna do not appear, according to this standard, to be far advanced ; their houses are mere sheds, which barely cover them from the inclemency of the weather. Dress, another distinguishing character of civilization, is as yet entirely unknown to them ; and in the place of cleanliness, which every where renders mankind agreeable to each other, we observed divers sorts of paint and grease. They seem how-

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ever to be in great forwardness towards receiving a greater polish. Their food is much varied by the arts of cookery which the women put in practice; they roast or broil the yams and bananas; they stew the green leaves of a kind of fig, and of the okra (*bibiscus esculentus*), they bake puddings made of a paste of bananas and eddoes, containing a mixture of coco-nut kernel and leaves, and they likewise eat several sorts of ripe fruits, without any preparation. Their poultry and hogs doubtless supply them at times with animal food; and from time to time they catch fish and birds, which very probably are reckoned dainties. If the taste for a variety of food becomes more general and violent, agriculture, arts, and manufactures will be carried on with greater spirit, as far as they are subservient to the pleasure of the palate, and one refinement still must give birth to another. The heaviest task becomes light and amusing, as soon as it is undertaken from our own inclination, and for the gratification of our senses. The domestic life of the people of Tanna is not wholly destitute of amusements; they are at present indeed of a more serious turn than the civilized nations of the Friendly and Society Islands, and the more savage inhabitants of Mallicollo: but, on the other hand, their music is in greater perfection than any in the South Sea; and it cannot be disputed that a predilection for harmonious sounds implies great sensibility, and must prepare the way for civilization. Agreeably to their pre-

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sent situation, their government is in a very imperfect state. Every village or family appears to be independent, and only to join with the rest when their common interest is absolutely the same: for example, when their country is threatened by the invasion of strangers. The aged or the strong appear to have the greatest influence among the multitude, and a diversity of ranks seems to be unknown. The separate interest of many small societies must frequently clash, and of course involve them in feuds, which nourish, in some measure, the principles of distrust and revenge. This difficulty can only be remedied in process of time by the encrease of population, which will oblige them to unite and to establish a government on a more permanent basis. The manufacture of arms, upon which they now spend more time than on any other, will then employ their more numerous leisure hours, and the same elegance which is at present lavished on the arms at the Friendly Islands, may likewise at Tanna become the work of peace and mutual safety. How far their navigations to neighbourings islands may hasten that period is uncertain; but commerce is doubtless of infinite service to the encrease of civilization.

We know nothing of their religion, except the solemn song which we heard on the eastern point of the bay almost every morning, from whence we suspect that they have a place of worship in the woods thereabouts. Their solicitude to prevent our access to that part seems

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seems to strengthen this conjecture; but in their general behaviour we did not take notice of the least religious act, nor of any thing that could be construed into superstition. The only circumstance which has some appearance of owing its origin to a religious notion, is their taking up the presents which we gave them, in a leaf; but as this was not a general custom, and almost entirely neglected as soon as we became better acquainted, I cannot lay any stress upon it. Civilization enlarges and unravels the idea of a Deity, which is not unknown to the savage, though his more immediate wants prevent his giving attention to it. When the exigencies of nature are supplied with less trouble, and in a shorter time, the intellectual part expands and mounts to heaven to find some occupation. It cannot be expected that during the little stay which we made at Tanna, and in the confined situation to which the distrust of the natives reduced us at first, we should have been able to collect more certain and instructive observations, or an exact detail of the whole extent of knowledge among the natives. Many articles, and especially all the customs of domestic life, remain entirely unknown to us. All nations practise certain ceremonies on solemn occasions, such as marriages, births, or deaths; and however simple they may be at Tanna, they contribute to delineate the character of the people, of which our knowledge is but too imperfect. The visits which we made to them on the hill, gave us great room to believe

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them hospitable, and open to sentiments of universal benevolence, as soon as the apprehensions for their safety were pacified. We found them unjust to their women, but not so cruel and unnatural as the New Zealanders; on the contrary, it is rather to be supposed that they make gradual advances towards that kind disposition which manifests itself in the good treatment of the sex at the Friendly and Society Islands. Upon other occasions we had reason to believe them brave and intrepid, and their conduct to us in the woods, after the fatal murder of their countryman, was certainly generous. Their conversation sometimes afforded us an opportunity of admiring their sagacity. Their behaviour to us at our first arrival, and the custom of going constantly armed, are evident marks of distrust; and the custom of eating human flesh, which their signs plainly indicated, is a proof that their passions are violent. The intercourse with Europeans might perhaps have proved a benefit to them, and laid the ground-work for a future progress in civilization, if their last rash action had not effaced those favourable impressions which the natives had already conceived of them. European goods were in no repute; but as we left a considerable number of nails and some hatchets among them, the durability of the metal will soon teach them to hold it in high esteem, and it is not improbable that the next ship which may happen to visit them, will find them fond of iron-ware, and eager to barter provisions for it.

Having

Having once more put to sea, we ran to the eastward, in order to examine the island of Irironan. Our stay at Tanna had supplied us only with three or four meals of fresh fish, and a small quantity of yams, which we treasured up to serve upon emergencies. Some of our crew were at this time afflicted with fevers, and received small portions of those roots, as substitutes to the unwholesome biscuit and pickled beef.

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In the evening we came near the island of Irironan, which was found to lie about twelve leagues to the east of Tanna, and consisted of a high table-hill. We passed the night in tacking, and the next morning ascertained the situation of Anatom in $20^{\circ} 3'$ south, and $170^{\circ} 5'$ east. Its size was inferior to that of Tanna, though we kept at such a distance that we could not determine it with precision; but the height of its mountains was to all appearance nearly the same. Observing no other islands to the southward at present, we shaped our course along the south-west shore of Tanna, which we saw to great advantage on that side, all the hills sloping very gently from their summits and inland ridges. As the wind was very fresh and wholly in our favour, we were on the lee-side of Irromanga the next morning. Captain Cook was resolved to spend some time in examining the western coasts of all this group of islands, and particularly not to leave unexplored that to the north of Mallicollo, which had been seen by M. de Bougainville. This group
being

Sunday 21st

Monday 22nd

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being the westernmost hitherto known in the South Pacific Ocean, captain Cook named the NEW HEBRIDES *, having acquired the right of giving this new collective name by discovering ten large islands, besides a number of smaller ones, all which had never been seen before. The day was not yet spent when we had already passed the southern shores of Sandwich Island. Its aspect on that side was very beautiful, and its forests seemed more rich and copious than we had formerly observed them to the northward. Four small islands, of inconsiderable height but finely wooded with the most tufted trees, formed a harbour, which had the appearance of being very convenient and safe.

Tuesday 23.

Running on all night with great speed, we came in sight of the Isles of Apee, Pa-oom, and Ambrrym the next morning, and stood along the south-west side of Mallicollo. The peak of Pa-oom seemed at this distance in one direction, to be entirely separate from the land before it, but it may nevertheless be connected with it by low land. Mallicollo surprised us again with the beauty and shagginess of its forests, from whence vast numbers of smokes ascended, sufficient to prove, that a great part of these forests was inhabited. A spacious bay soon opened to our view, with a fine beach; and the land about it, was to all appearance, extremely populous and fertile. Two small islands were situated in this bay, and we feasted our eyes

* The Hebrides are the westernmost islands of Great Britain.

on the richness and luxuriance of the prospect, where the brightest tints of verdure were profusely spread.

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A great number of natives were observed on the shore, and two canoes put off about noon, paddling towards us, but soon giving over the chase, as we sailed on too fast for them. Beyond the point which included the bay to the north-west, the country lost something of its exuberant fertility, and was interspersed with barren spots, though we saw smokes and habitations on the highest ridges: and at night the mountains were illuminated in different places, by several lines of fires, some of which appeared to extend at least half a mile in length. We passed the north point of Mallicollo during night, and were a good way advanced in Bougainville's passage at day-break on the 24th. Mallicollo lies nearly N. N. W. and S. S. E. and the north point is in $15^{\circ} 50' S.$ and $167^{\circ} 23' E.$ The land which forms the north side of the passage, appeared very extensive, high and mountainous, and a number of small islands lay along its southern coast, which were of a very moderate height, and covered with the finest forests. The continual fair weather which attended this part of our navigation, made all these beautiful landscapes appear to the greatest advantage; and the pleasure of contemplating a great variety of rich sceneries, made us some amends for the wretchedness of our diet, which at present consisted of no other than the ship's provisions.

Wednesd. 24th

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The land which we now saw to the northward, seems to be the same, which that great navigator, captain Quiros, called *Tierra Austral del Espiritu Santo*, and which at that time, he supposed to make part of a continent. It is not improbable, that the bay of St. Philip and St. Jago, where he anchored, is situated within the small islands, which lie before that great land. We really saw the appearance of a bay within them, but did not stop to examine it, only giving the small islands the name of *Bartholemew Isles*, from the day on which we saw them.

We were now entertained once more with the sight of the island of *Lepers*, and *Aurora* which remained at a great distance to the east of us. Our course continued to the north along the eastern shore of *Tierra del Espiritu Santo*, where we still discovered new islands, which were not seen by M. de Bougainville. These small islands, as well as the main land, had all a very fertile aspect, being covered with fine forests, from whence numerous smokes ascended, which were so many signs of a great population. Having passed the night, standing off and on, we came abreast of the northernmost islands the next morning, and took notice that even the large land extended no further northward. Most of the small islands were very long, narrow, and bluff at one end, but formed a low flat point, running out to the northward. Their bluff part was commonly white like a chalk-cliff, and it was remarkable that we did not observe any coconut

Thursday 25.

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nut trees among their forests, which in some places consisted chiefly of club-wood. As we passed by their northern extremity, they formed a very beautiful prospect, gradually opening from each other, and clear of the main land. Steering to the westward, we passed a projecting point on Tierra del Espíritu Santo, and opened a most spacious bay of which the entrance could be no less than five leagues wide. The depth of the bay was proportioned to the width. The shores on each side seemed to run parallel for the space of seven leagues, at the end of which the bay terminates. A fine beach was seen all along the bottom of it, and the land from thence, for many leagues within the country, consisted of hills of a very moderate height, and extensive populous vallies, which had the appearance of fertility and plenty. We stood over to its western shore where we saw many natives, especially towards the evening; and likewise took notice of a canoe similar to those which we had observed at Mallicollo; it came off, but the people in it kept it at a distance from the ship, and would not come near, though we gave them ever so many invitations. The hill which formed the western shore was rather steep, but however well inhabited, and covered with woods. A low flat point ran out from it a mile or two into the bay, and formed a kind of cove where we wished to come to an anchor, as we were becalmed, and the night was coming on. We founded several times, but found no bottom with one

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Friday 26.

hundred and thirty, and one hundred and forty fathom, about a mile from the shore. It was soon perfectly dark, and as we only discerned the land by the lights which glimmered through the woods in different places, our situation was beginning to be alarming, and we thought of hoisting out our boats to tow us off, when a faint breeze assisted us to get into the middle of the bay. Here we waited for day-light, and then continued to stand in to the southward with light airs, which vanished towards noon. Two boats were sent after dinner to the beach which runs along the bottom of the bay, in order to reconnoitre whether there was any port, or a river, which we could not discern from on board, being still above a league and a half distant. In the mean while three canoes put off from the shore, with triangular sails, and approached the ship very fast. In each of them we observed four or five men, to whom we called, as soon as we thought them within hearing. They were naked, and of the same colour as the Mallicollese; but taller, and more stoutly formed; their hair seemed to be woolly, and their beards frizzled. Some of them had a bunch of feathers on the top of the head, and others wore a white shell tied on the fore-head. On their arms they had bracelets of shell-work, exactly resembling those which we had observed at Mallicollo, and round their middle they wore a narrow belt, from whence a long slip of matted-work, five inches broad, descended to the

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the knees before and behind. One of them had a fago-leaf rolled round his head, forming a kind of airy cap. Their canoes were of indifferent workmanship like those of Mallicollo, and had out-riggers. We saw some spears in them, which had two or three prongs, and were doubtless intended as fish-gigs; but, besides these, the people had no arms whatsoever. They came so near as to accept a present of medals, nails, Taheitee cloth, and red baize; and we could observe them seizing upon the nails with peculiar eagerness, which seems to indicate that they were not wholly unacquainted with them: Quiros perhaps might leave some iron-ware on this island, which has thus acquired a high value among the natives. They fastened a branch of the pepper-plant to the same rope by which we had lowered down the nails to them; but it appeared, that besides this emblem of friendship, they had nothing else to give. We spoke a good deal to them, and they answered from time to time, but neither party understood the other. However, I thought of repeating the numerals in the dialect of the Friendly Islands, and had scarcely begun to count, when they immediately interrupted me, and counted very exactly till ten. We now pointed to the shore, and enquired for the name of the island. They repeated the word *Fannoàa*, which in the dialect just mentioned signifies land; and called the level district, at the bottom of the bay, *Talla-*

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Onée, at the same time giving several names for different parts of the country on the sides; but we could not obtain a general name of the island, which we therefore distinguished by that of *Tierra del Espíritu Santo*, as Quiros had done before. The languages of Mallicollo and Tanna, of which we repeated some words to these people, were either unknown to them, or we pronounced them too improperly to be understood. When they saw our boats coming back from the shore, they left us, it being then near sunset. Lieutenant Pickersgill, who had the command of our boats, reported that he found no soundings before he came within two or three cable's lengths of the shore, but that the bottom was good at this distance. He had found a fine river, which was deep enough for his boat at the entrance, and had landed on one of the banks, whilst a great number of natives appeared in the bushes on the opposite side. He made many signs of friendship, and called and beckoned to them to come over the water; but none of them venturing to accept the invitation, he re-embarked, and returned to the ship. The boats were hoisted in, and a breeze springing up, assisted us to go gradually out of the bay. Captain Cook gave this bay the name of *St. Philip and St. Iago*; but it is still somewhat doubtful, whether it is the same which Quiros has distinguished by that name; at least the port of *Vera Cruz*, which according to that Spanish navigator, has
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room for a thousand ships, is not to be found in it*. The eastern point of the entrance was named cape Quiros, and lies in $14^{\circ} 55'$ S. and $167^{\circ} 14'$ E. The western point extends somewhat more to the northward, being in $14^{\circ} 38'$ S. and $166^{\circ} 52'$ E. and was named cape Cumberland. We were off this point early the next morning, and advanced slowly out of the bay, along the northern coast of the island, being much detained by calms and light airs. Quiros had great reason to extol the beauty and fertility of this country; it is indeed to appearance, one of the finest in the world. Its riches in vegetable productions would doubtless have afforded the botanist an ample harvest of new plants, as next to New Zealand it was the largest land we had hitherto seen, and had the advantage of having never been examined by other naturalists. But the study of nature was only made the secondary object in this voyage, which, contrary to its original intent, was so contrived in the execution, as to produce little more than a new track on the chart of the southern hemisphere. We were therefore obliged to look upon those moments, as peculiarly fortunate, when the urgent wants of the crew, and the interest of the sciences, happened to coincide.

A shark was caught in the afternoon, and afforded us a fresh meal. We found a small insect, of the monocus,

* See Mr. Dalrymple's useful and judicious Collection of Voyages, vol. I. p. 132, 142, and 169.

tribe,

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tribe, upon its back, which much resembled the species in the gills of salmon. A scorpion was likewise dislodged from a shelf, by the accidental removal of a book; some of these creatures having been brought on board at the Society or Friendly Islands with clusters of bananas, on which they sometimes sit. Towards night we made another acquisition; it was a booby, of the sort which Linnæus calls *pelecanus fiber*, which had roosted on the main-yard.

The day following a light air likewise retarded our progress, so that we slowly examined the western coast of Tierra del Espíritu Santo. A variety of fish were observed swimming along side; two albecores were caught, and a single dolphin was struck with the harpoon, after many unsuccessful attempts. The land on this side was high, and the mountains very steep. Many fires were observed at night, probably in order to clear the ground for plantations. Quiros having likewise seen fires on this island, conjectured as we had done at first, that they were *feux de joye*, and illuminations, on account of the arrival of ships. A southerly breeze springing up, obliged us to tack off and on, during the 30th and 31st, when we reached the S. W. point of the island, which we named Cape Lisburne, and which is situated in $15^{\circ} 35' S.$ and $167^{\circ} E.$ We stood once more into the passage between Tierra del Espíritu Santo and Mallicollo, in order to complete the circuit of the former. Here we saw the bay which M. de Bougainville has expressed in his
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map, sheltered by some of the Bartholomew Islands: it did not however appear to be of such great extent as it is there represented. About six in the evening we put about, and stood to the S. S. W. from the New Hebrides, with a S. E. trade-wind. This group of islands, which we had now cursorily examined in the space of forty-six days, seems to be well worth the attention of future navigators, especially if they should ever be sent out upon the liberal plan of making discoveries in all the various branches of science. I will not pretend to say that they would find great riches of silver and pearls, which Quiros was forced to speak of, in order to engage an interested, avaricious court, to support his great and spirited undertakings. These incitements are not necessary now a-days, when several monarchs in Europe have convinced the world that they can institute voyages of discovery, with no other view than the increase of human knowledge, and the improvement of mankind. The sums which some of their predecessors have lavished on parasites, have been found sufficient to make an immense progress, nay, to produce a new and important revolution in the state of the sciences, which have ever required a trifling expence to triumph over the numberless obstacles that ignorance, envy, or superstition opposed against them. The natural productions of the New Hebrides, exclusive of all kinds of artificial riches, are therefore in my opinion considerable enough to engage the attention of future voyagers. Their
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volcanoes, their vegetables, and their inhabitants, would provide sufficient employment for a Ferber *, a Solander, and many of the historians of mankind.

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Thursday 1.

We proceeded at present to the southward, and prepared to cross the South Sea in its greatest breadth towards the extremity of America; and though our crew were much weakened by living entirely upon salt meat in a hot climate, yet it was intended not to touch at any place by the way; a project, which if it had been put in execution, would doubtless have proved fatal to some of them, whose bad constitution would not prompt them to support such an abstinence. Fortunately, after standing on the same course for three days, we fell in with a large land, which had never been visited by any European navigator before, and which entirely altered the plan of our proceedings for the remaining part of our stay in the South Seas.

* Mr. Ferber is the first and only man of science who has given us a truly scientific and mineralogical account of Vesuvius, which is worthy the attention of naturalists. See his Letters to baron Born, London, 1776.

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C H A P. III.

Discovery of New Caledonia.—Account of our stay there.—Range along the coast to our departure.—Discovery of Norfolk Island.—Return to New Zealand.

ON the 4th of September, about seven in the morning, a midshipman at the mast-head discovered land to the south, extending a great way to the westward, and likewise to the south-eastward. It appeared to be very high, and its distance from us was about eight leagues, being seen through a haze, which made it appear farther off than it really was. We had at this time little wind, though fair weather, and therefore advanced slowly towards this new and unexpected coast. M. de Bougainville takes notice of meeting with a part of the sea which was entirely smooth*, and where several pieces of wood and fruits floated past his ship. This was nearly to the N. W. of the land which we now discovered, and which, as an able and intelligent navigator, he had conjectured to lie in that direction.

Sunday 4th

* See his Voyage, Eng. edition, p. 303.

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A calm, which happened after noon, entirely stopped our progress towards the land, to which we were now near enough to discern several smokes, sufficient to prove that it was inhabited. An officer at the mast-head likewise entertained us with the hope of seeing another volcano, of which he said he had seen the smoke bursting out. He must, however, have been deceived by appearances, as we never afterwards saw any volcanic production upon this island. The point which had first been seen, was named after the midshipman, *Cape Colnett*, and is situated in $20^{\circ} 30'$ south, and $165^{\circ} 2'$ east. The whole land, appearing to be very extensive, was honoured with the appellation of *Nova Caledonia*. We could not wait the moment which should bring us acquainted with the inhabitants of this land, but formed several conjectures relative to them. As we had found the inhabitants of the New Hebrides not only entirely distinct from the New Zealanders, but also different amongst themselves, this new country offered itself to our eyes very opportunely in order to account for the population of New Zealand; but the sequel convinced us that our ideas were very premature on this subject, and that the history of the human species in the South Seas cannot yet be unravelled with any degree of precision.

Before it was dark, three sailing canoes were seen coming off from the shore. Perhaps the natives had taken our ship to be a canoe, and upon this supposition had mistaken the

the distance, for soon after they put about and returned. The land to the westward seemed to be divided into several islands, and a-head of the ship we observed some breakers, which gave us reason to conclude that a reef of coral surrounded the land at a considerable distance from it.

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Early the next morning, having a fine breeze, we stood towards the shore, and soon discovered the reef, which ran parallel to the coast, at the distance of three leagues. Within it we saw several canoes, each provided with two large sails, one behind the other, and some natives on board of them employed in fishing. A few other canoes put off from the shore some time after, and, passing the reef, came towards the ship. We called to them as soon as we could be heard, but they only looked at us, and soon returned the way they came, making however no unfriendly gestures. Having observed an entrance into the reef we hoisted two boats out, which we sent to sound. In a little time they made the signal of having found a convenient and safe passage into the smooth water within the reef, and we could observe them conversing upon very amicable terms with a canoe full of the natives. Our ship stood into this smooth basin through a gap in the reef, which was about a mile in breadth. The natives laid some of their canoes on both sides of the passage, in a place where it was narrow, and beckoned to us to keep in the middle between, which gave us a very high opinion of their friendly and open disposition.

Monday 5.

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tion. Our boats still continued to proceed a-head of us, sounding from time to time, and making signals of the depth of water. The face of the country looked rather barren as we approached, and was covered with a dry whitish grafs. Trees were very sparingly scattered on the mountains, and seemed all to have white stems, and to resemble willows; nor was any kind of shrubberies or underwood to be seen. Coming nearer, we discovered a small border of flat land at the foot of the hills, covered with green and tufted trees and bushes, amongst which we saw now and then a coco-nut palm and a banana-tree. Some houses likewise appeared, which had the shape of conical or round bee-hives, with a hole for the entrance, and exactly resembled the houses which are represented in Le Maire's and Schouten's voyage, and which they saw on Cocos and Hoorne Island*.

Lieutenant Pickersgill, who had been out in the boat, now returned on board, and told us that the people in the canoes had been extremely friendly towards him, and shewed him one of their number whom they named *Teà-booma*, and stiled their *arèkee*, or king. He gave him some medals and other trifles, and likewise presented the other people in the canoe with the same; but they all delivered what they received immediately into the hands of *Teà-booma*. Mr. Pickersgill brought on board four or five fish, of which

* See the plates in Mr. Dalrymple's Collection of Voyages, vol. II.

these good people had made him a present; but unfortunately they were already putrid and unfit to be eaten.

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We saw a small islet in the harbour, surrounded by reefs and shoals, near which we let go our anchor in a good bottom. This was no sooner done than we were surrounded by about twenty canoes, each of which was provided with sails, and consisted of two hulls, connected by a platform of boards, on which lay a heap of foil and ashes, where the natives kept a constant fire. Many of these people immediately came on board, placing perfect confidence in us, and one of them exchanged a yam for a small bit of red cloth. We sat down to dinner, and a number of the natives were our spectators. They ate very heartily of the yams which we had obtained at Tanna, but refused to touch our salt pork, or to drink a drop of wine. Unfortunately, yams were such a rarity upon our table, that we could not conveniently part with them. They admired every thing that had a red colour, particularly red cloth or baize, but did not choose to give us any thing in exchange. Their language, if we except the word areekee and one or two more, had no affinity with any one of the various languages which we had heard in the South Sea before. This was the more surprising to us, as we had found one language, or at least dialects of it, in all the easterly islands of the South Sea, as well as at New Zealand. The people were likewise different from any we had seen. They were very stout, tall, and

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and in general well proportioned; their features mild, their beards and hair black and strongly frizzled, so as to be almost woolly in some individuals, and their general colour swarthy or a dark chestnut brown, nearly the same with that of the people of Tanna.

After dinner we proceeded to a flat point on the shore, where we saw a great croud of the natives assembled. Two boats filled with people went on this expedition, and among them were twelve marines, well armed. We landed without the least opposition among the natives, some of whom were armed, but others entirely defenceless. Our marines drew up in a line, whilst we went up and down before them, and desired the natives to give us some room, to which they readily consented. A handsome young man, who, according to Mr. Pickersgill, was the chief Teà-booma, held a speech almost as soon as we had stepped ashore. Previous to this, another of the natives pronounced some words very loud, upon which a general silence immediately ensued. The speech was very moderate, though serious, and from time to time delivered in a loud tone. Sometimes the orator seemed to propose several questions, which were always answered by some old men in the croud, and the whole lasted two or three minutes. A little while after another chief arrived, who likewise held a speech of the same nature to us; after which we mixed freely in the croud, and had an opportunity of examining their arms and ornaments.

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Our principal enquiry, which we expressed by signs, was whether they had any fresh water, upon which some pointed to the west, but the greatest number to the eastward. Their persons were tall and wholly of that character which I observed in those who came on board at first. Many of them, however, had prodigious thick legs and arms, which seemed to be affected by a kind of leprosy. They all went naked, only tying a string round the middle, and another round the neck. A little piece of brown cloth, made of the bark of a fig-tree, which is sometimes tucked up to the belt, and sometimes pendulous, scarcely deserves the name of a covering; it seems indeed not to be intended for a veil, any more than the contrivance of the Mallicollese, and in the eyes of Europeans would rather be reckoned obscene than decent. Every inhabitant of this island, therefore, like the natives of Tanna and Mallicollo, was an ambulant figure of the Roman Garden-God. The ideas of modesty are different in every country, and change in different periods of time. Where all men go naked, for instance on New Holland*, custom familiarizes them to each other's eyes, as much as if they went wholly muffled up in garments. The fashionable dresses and suits of armour which were worn in the fifteenth and sixteenth century at every European court, would at present be looked upon as the most indecent that

* The natives of New Holland, of both sexes, go entirely naked, and have not the least covering from motives of shame. See Hawkesworth, vol. III.

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can possibly be contrived; and yet who will dare to assert that there was less modesty in the world at that age than in this, or defame the virtuous characters of the invincible knights of that time, so famous for chastity, honour, and gallantry,—because they wore breeches made after the fashions of the times †?

The same piece of cloth, which the natives of New Caledonia have made so conspicuous, is sometimes of such a length, that the extremity is fastened to the string round the neck. To this string they also hang small round beads, of a pale green nephritic stone, which is of the same species with that of Tanna, and nearly related to that of New Zealand. On their heads many among them wear black cylindrical caps, made of a very coarse matted work, and entirely open at both ends, being only a kind of stiff cloth, formed by a longitudinal seam into a cylinder, which has some resemblance to the cap of an hussar. The chiefs had ornamented theirs with many small red plumes, and at the top with long black cock's feathers. In their ears, of which the extremity is stretched to a great length, and the whole cartilage cut out, as at Easter Island, they hang great numbers of tortoise-shell rings, as is customary at Tanna, and sometimes place a scroll, made of a sugar-cane leaf, in the

† In the arsenals at the Tower of London may be seen many complete suits of armour, which will better explain my meaning.

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hole. Their arms were clubs, spears and slings. The former were of different shapes and woods, but in general rather short, seldom exceeding three feet in length, and resembling that sort of the clubs of Tanna, which is made of the *casuarina*. Their ends are cut out in stars and various knobs, and some are formed almost like a scythe or pick-axe, with a very short handle. Their spears are fifteen or twenty feet long, and black, or blackened over; and the best of them, somewhat before the middle, have a prominence, which is carved so as to bear a rude resemblance to a human face. They throw them by the assistance of such short cords, knobbed at one end and looped at the other, as are usual at Tanna, and which seamen call beackets. Those of New Caledonia were of superior workmanship, and contained a quantity of red wool, which we should have taken for the covering of a new sort of animal, if we had not formerly seen the vampyre, or great Indian bat, from whence it was taken. Their last weapons were slings, for bows and arrows were wholly unknown to them. These slings consisted of a slender round cord, no thicker than a packthread, which had a tassel at one end, and a loop at the other end and in the middle. The stones which they used were oblong, and pointed at each end, being made of a soft and unctuous soap-rock (*smectites*), which could easily be rubbed into that shape. These exactly fitted the loop in the middle of the sling, and were kept in a wallet or pocket

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of coarse cloth, strongly woven, of a kind of grass, which was tied on about the middle. Their shape gives them a striking resemblance to the *glandes plumbeæ* of the Romans *.

Captain Cook being desirous to find a watering-place, soon returned to the boats, and proceeded along shore to the eastward, where he saw the whole coast lined with mangroves, growing in shallow water, and in swampy or marshy ground. The natives on the beach, seeing us put off, dispersed immediately, and went to their several homes. Two of them were seen walking with great difficulty along the mangroves; for which reason we rowed towards them, and took them into the boat. After we had proceeded near two miles, these two men pointed out an entrance between the mangroves, which looked like a river. As it was deep enough for our boats, we went in, and soon perceived, that, after several turns and windings, it led to a few habitations. In our way we saw some of the natives standing on the shore, and a flock of wild ducks passing over our heads at the same time. I killed one of them, which one of our friends in the boat was so desirous of possessing, that we readily made him a present of it. He, as well as those on shore, expressed some admiration on observing the effect of our fire-arms, but did not betray the smallest symptom of fear. Before we reached their houses, we re-

* See Count Caylus's Antiquit. III, 327. Tab. XCII. fig. 3.

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peated the experiment, much to their satisfaction, and were very well pleased to give them an idea of our power, by such innocent means. At last, the river being not above twelve yards wide, we landed on its banks, which were raised about two feet above the water, it being near the flood tide. Here we found a few small families, with their wives and children, who all came familiarly about us, without the least marks of distrust or ill-will. The women were in general of a dark chesnut, or sometimes mahogany brown colour; their stature was middle-sized, some being rather tall, and their whole form very stout, and somewhat clumsy. Their dress was the most disfiguring that can be imagined, and gave them a thick squat shape. It was a short petticoat or fringe, consisting of filaments or little cords about eight inches long, which were fastened to a very long string, which they had tied several times round the waist. The filaments or little ropes therefore lay above each other in several layers, forming a kind of thick thatch all round the body, which did not cover above a third part of the thigh. These filaments were sometimes dyed black; but frequently those on the outside only were of that colour, whilst the rest had a dirty straw-colour. They wore shells, ear-rings, and bits of nephritic stones, like the men; and some had three black lines longitudinally from the under-lip to the chin, which had been punctured by the same methods practised at the Friendly

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and Society Islands. Their features were coarse, but expressed great good-nature. The forehead in general was high, the nose broad and flat at the root, and the eyes rather small. Their cheek-bones were very prominent, and the cheeks commonly plump. Their hair was frizzled, and often cut short, as among the natives of the Society and Friendly Islands. The huts, which stood about ten yards from the banks of the river, on a little rising, were of a conical shape, about ten feet high, but not pointed at the top. Their innermost skeleton consisted of several poles placed nearly upright, and connected together by twisted sticks like hurdles. Over these we found a covering of mats from top to bottom, and upon that a thick and well-contrived thatch of straw. What little light there is in these houses, comes in through the entrance, which is a hole about four feet high ; so that the inhabitants must stoop to go in or out. We found them full of smoke, and saw a heap of ashes in the entrance ; and concluded that they were obliged to light fires, in order to drive away the mosquitoes, which must infest the swamps in the neighbourhood ; though this day being rather cool, we saw but few. The huts were surrounded by a small number of coco-palms, destitute of fruit, some sugar-canes, bananas, and eddoes, which the natives had supplied with water by several little trenches. Some of the eddoes were actually set under water, in the same manner as is customary through-

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throughout the South Sea Islands. The whole plantation, however, had a very scanty appearance, and seemed to be insufficient to afford nourishment to the inhabitants throughout the year. We entirely missed that variety of fruits, which we had hitherto met with in the tropical islands, and naturally recollected the poverty of the inhabitants of Easter Island, above whom it appeared, that the people before us enjoyed but few advantages. A native named Heebai, seemed to be the principal man among the few families which were here assembled; we made him some presents, and walked about on the banks of the river towards the mangroves, meeting with a new plant by the way. Towards the hills, of which the first risings were at the distance of about two miles, the country looked extremely dreary; here and there indeed, we saw a few trees, and small cultivated spots, but they appeared to be lost on the great extent of barren and unprofitable country, which resembled our moors more than any thing else. Upon a large heap of embers and ashes before the huts, lay a round earthen pot, which could hold four or five gallons. It was very clumsily shaped, had a large belly, and consisted of a reddish substance, which was totally covered with soot both without and within. After a short stay with the good people of this spot, whose provisions were doubtless so scanty, that they could not spare any for us, we reembarked in our boats. The natives came along side early the next morning.

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morning in their canoes. They had fires upon every canoe, having laid some stones and ashes on the platform, to prevent any accident. There were some women in the boats, who did not come into the ship, but many of the men came in without invitation, and began to sell their arms for pieces of Taheitee cloth.

The boats were sent ashore again in search of a nearer watering-place. We landed at the same point, where we had made our first landing the day before. Here we met with a few inhabitants, who on our making enquiry for fresh-water, pointed to the westward where we had not yet been. We walked along the beach, which was here sandy, and bounded by a fine wild shrubbery: we soon came to a hut, from whence a number of plantations extended to the back of the beach and wild wood. We rambled into the country, and came to a canal that watered this plantation, but of which the water was very brackish. From hence however, we ran immediately to an eminence near us, where the nature of the country appeared evidently changed. The plain was covered with a thin stratum of vegetable soil, which being very poor was manured in the plantations with broken shells and corals. The eminence on the contrary was a rocky ground, consisting of large pieces of quartz and glimmer (*mica**). Here

* This kind of rock is called *gestellstein* by the German mineralogists. See Mr. Ferber's Letters to Baron Born, English edition, 8vo. 1776, p. 327. This name is particularly applied to that kind of rock, where the mica or glimmer lies in frequent and horizontal strata.

grew

grew a quantity of dry grasses, about two or three feet high, very thin in most places ; and at the distance of fifteen or twenty yards asunder, we saw large trees black at the root, but with a bark perfectly white and loose, and having narrow long leaves like our willows. They were of the sort which Linné calls *melaleuca leucadendra*, and Rumphius *arbor alba*, who says that the natives of the Moluccas make the oil of *cayputi*, from the leaves, which are indeed extremely fragrant and aromatic †. Not the least shrub was to be seen on this eminence, and the trees did not intercept the distant prospect. We discerned from hence a line of tufted trees and shrubberies, which extended from the sea-side towards the mountains, and immediately concluded that they stood on the banks of a rivulet. We walked past a few other plantations, and soon found the rivulet we sought, which about two hundred yards from the sea, was unmixed with salt-water, so that we could fill our casks without much trouble. Here we saw the chief Teabooma, and gave him several medals and other trifles, for which he made us a present of a sling, and some clubs. The banks of the river were lined with mangroves, beyond which a few other sorts of plants and trees occupied a space of fifteen or twenty feet, which had a layer of vegetable mould, charged with nutritive moisture, and covered with a green bed of grasses, where the eye gladly reposed.

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† Herb. amboin. vol. II. T. 16, 17. p. 72.

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itself after viewing a parched prospect. The border of shrubberies and wild trees which lined the sea-shore, was the most advantageous to us as naturalists; here we met with some unknown plants, and saw a great variety of birds of different classes, which were for the greatest part entirely new. But the character of the inhabitants, and their friendly, inoffensive behaviour towards us, gave us greater pleasure than all the rest. We found their numbers very inconsiderable, and their habitations very thinly scattered. They commonly had built two or three houses near each other, under a group of very lofty fig-trees, of which the branches were so closely entwined, that the sky was scarcely visible through the foliage, and the huts were involved in a perpetual cool shade. They had another advantage besides, from this pleasant situation; for numbers of birds continually twittered in the tufted tops of the tree, and hid themselves from the scorching beams of the sun. The wild note of some species of creepers was very agreeable, and conveyed a sensible pleasure to every one who delighted in this kind of artless harmony. The inhabitants themselves were commonly seated at the foot of these trees, which had this remarkable quality, that they shot long roots from the upper part of the stem, perfectly round, as if they had been made by a turner, into the ground, ten, fifteen, and twenty feet from the tree, and formed a most exact strait line, being extremely elastic, and as tense

as

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as a bow-string prepared for action. The bark of these trees seems to be the substance of which they make those little bits of cloth, so remarkable in their drefs. They communicated a number of words of their language to us, which had no affinity with those we had learnt before in other islands; a circumstance sufficient to discourage the greatest and most indefatigable genealogist. Their temper seemed to be as indolent, as it was good-natured and harmless. It was very rare indeed, that any one of them chose to follow us on our rambles; if we passed by their huts, and talked to them, they answered us, but if we went on without addressing them, they took no farther notice of us. The women were rather more curious, and sometimes strayed in the bushes to observe us, but would not venture to come near, except in the presence of the men.

We shot a number of birds, without giving the least offence by this amusement to any of the natives; on the contrary, when we came near their houses, the young men readily pointed them out to us. It appeared that they had very little occupation at this time of the year, having now prepared the ground, and planted roots and bananas, of which they expected a new crop the ensuing summer. Perhaps from the same reason, they were at present more unable than at any other time, to part with their provisions to us, though their insuspicious, open disposition, gave us the greatest room to believe that they were not strangers to

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the principles of hospitality, which render all the natives of the South Sea so amiable in the eyes of their visitors.

We walked about till noon, when the boats returned on board with a load of water, having only left a small party with the casks; a precaution, which the honesty of the natives perhaps did not render necessary. Mr. Wales, our astronomer, had in the meanwhile fixed some instruments on the little sandy islet, in order to observe an eclipse of the sun, which happened this day. The captain joined him there, and from this, as well as subsequent observations, they deduced the situation of this little island to be in $20^{\circ} 15'$ S. and $164^{\circ} 40'$ E.

In the evening we went on shore with captain Cook to the watering-place. The cayputi-trees (*melaleuca*), of which we found several in flower, had a loose bark, which in many places burst off from the wood, and concealed within it beetles, ants, spiders, lizards, and scorpions. We thought we observed quails among the tall dry grasses this day, but could not be certain; we walked about till sunset, on the hills nearest to our watering-place, where we saw but very few natives, who sold some of their arms to us. We endeavoured to represent to them that we stood in need of provisions, but they lent a deaf ear to every hint of that kind, since it was plain they had barely enough for their own subsistence. The soil of New Caledonia is indeed very unfit
for

for agriculture, and poorly rewards the labours which the natives bestow upon it.

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Early in the morning, before any natives come on board, we sent a boat to the offing with the body of one of our seamen, who had acted as butcher on board the ship, but died the day before, of a hurt which he had received on the 5th of September by a fall. He was a laborious man, indefatigable in his employment, though he seemed to be near sixty years old. This was the third man whom we lost on this voyage, one having been drowned, and another dying of a dropfy.

We set out with the captain, the master, two midshipmen, and three sailors, after breakfast, and ascended the hills from whence the rivulet sprung, at which we watered. We found a convenient path all the way, though the mountain was very steep in some places. The rock was every where of the same nature; it was always a mixture of a kind of glimmer and quartz, more or less tinged with an ochreous or reddish colour, which owed its origin to particles of iron. We found the cayputi-trees all the way up; but as we came higher, we met with various sorts of shrubs, though thinly scattered, which offered new species of flowers to our eyes. The higher we came, the more the trees dwindled into shrubs, except in a few deep glens, where we observed some small rills gushing down, which fertilized the ground so much, that a variety of plants shot up in

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them with luxuriance. We had not ascended an hour, when we met a body of near two hundred men of the natives descending, most of them well armed, who seemed to have come on purpose to see the strangers. The greater part turned back with us, seeing us advance towards the summit of the hill. Being near the summit, we stopped to look at some stakes placed here and there in the ground, with dry branches of trees and dry grasses laid across them. The natives told us they buried their dead on this hill, and that the stakes indicated the places where every one was interred. In the meanwhile, captain Cook, with the master, had reached the summit of the hill, from whence he beheld the sea on the south side, at no greater distance from the mountains than that to the north. A plain appeared on that side watered by various rivulets, and some plantations could be discerned; but upon the whole, no material difference was observed between the two sides of the ridge. The natives seeing us very dry, and tired by the immense heat of the day, brought us some sugar-canes; though I cannot conceive where they found them so soon, as we could not see, or indeed suppose, any growing in the neighbourhood. The tops of the hills were almost entirely barren, but still consisted of the same kind of stone, which seems to indicate, that New Caledonia contains some valuable minerals. Their height, from the time which the ascent took up, and all other circumstances considered, appears not to be very

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considerable, and must be inferior to the height of the Table-mountain at the Cape of Good Hope, which, according to abbé la Caille*, is said to be 3350 Rhinland feet high. We descended by a different path, which was more steep and rugged than the first, but likewise brought us down on the plain in a much shorter time. We found a number of plantations on that part of the plain where we came down, which was a considerable way to the westward of our watering-place. A few habitations of the natives were situated in the midst of these cultivated spots, without being sheltered against the sun. Their inhabitants came out, and offered us some cups full of fresh water, which the heat rendered very acceptable. This friendly action is fully sufficient to prove that the people have a kind and hospitable disposition, which nothing but their indigence, and their ungrateful soil, prevented them from manifesting in a more striking manner. In our polished regions we sometimes see real generosity shine through the cracks of a ruinous cottage, while it faintly glimmers in sumptuous palaces.

Having rejoined our watering party, we returned on board, where we found a number of natives, who visited every part of the ship, and disposed of their clubs, spears, and ornaments. One among them was prodigiously tall, and seemed at least six feet five inches high, and the black

* See his Voyage, p. 237.

cylindrical

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cylindrical cap which he wore, made him appear at least eight inches higher. Many of these caps were ornamented with the feathers of the Ceylonefe owl, which is also to be met with here and in the woods of Tanna; and it was almost a general custom to tie the fling round them, letting the tassel hang down on the shoulder. Fern leaves were likewise no uncommon ornament about these caps, which the natives sold us for Taheitee cloth, though they set a great value upon them. The number of ear-rings, which many of them wore, was remarkable; we observed one who had no less than eighteen, made of tortoise-shell, an inch in diameter, and a quarter of an inch in breadth. They brought a musical instrument, a kind of whistle, for sale this day. It was a little polished piece of brown wood, about two inches long, shaped like a bell, though apparently solid, with a rope fixed at the small end. Two holes were made in it near the base, and another near the insertion of the rope, all which had some communication with each other, and by blowing in the uppermost, a shrill sound, like whistling, was formed at the other. Besides this, we never observed any instrument among them which had the least relation to music. They had now begun to take our large spike-nails; but seeing some round iron bolts in the ship, to which some of the cordage is fastened (commonly called belaying-pins), they constantly shewed a great desire of possessing them. They did not attempt to take the least
trifle

trifle by stealth, behaving with the strictest honesty and propriety on board. Many came swimming from the shore, which was better than a mile off, holding their piece of brown cloth out of the water with one hand, whilst with the other they moved forwards, and brought with them a spear, or a club, though not of the sort which is made of casuarina wood, that being too heavy to be conveyed in such a manner.

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We embarked in a boat after dinner, and landed near two miles to the west of our watering-place, on a point which formed the bay where our ship lay at anchor. Here captain Cook took some bearings, whilst we pursued our researches. Immediately on the beach we found a large irregular mass of rock, not less than a cube of ten feet, which consisted of a close-grained horn-stone, speckled full of garnets, somewhat bigger than pins heads. This discovery confirmed what we had before conjectured, viz. that there was some probability of meeting with rich and useful minerals upon this island, which, as far as we saw, distinguished itself from all those we had hitherto examined in the South Seas, in being entirely destitute of volcanic productions. From this rock we struck into the woods which lined the shore, and which happened to be very thick in this part to a short distance on all sides. Here we found a few young bread-fruit-trees, not yet sufficiently grown to bear fruit; but they seemed to have come up
without

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without culture, and were perhaps indigenous wild trees of the country. We likewise met with a new species of passion-flower, which was chiefly extraordinary on this account, that all its species formerly known to the learned world were confined to America. I separated from my company during this search, and came into a hollow sandy way, which was hung with bindweeds and sweet-scented shrubs on both sides, and seemed to have been the bed of a torrent or rivulet. It brought me to a group of two or three huts, surrounded by coco-nut trees. Before one of them I observed a man seated with a little girl of eight or ten years old on his lap, and examining her head. He was somewhat surprised at sight of me, but presently recovering his tranquillity, proceeded in his occupation. He had a piece of fine transparent quartz in his hand, which having a very sharp edge, he made use of instead of scissors to cut the girl's hair. I made her a present of some black beads, and also gave him a few, with which he seemed much pleased. I now went on to the other huts, and found two placed so near together, as to inclose an area of about ten feet square, which was partly shut in with a fence. Here I found three women, one middle-aged, and the others somewhat younger, who made a fire under one of those large earthen pots which I have already mentioned. As soon as they saw me, they made signs that I should leave them ; however, being desirous to see their method of cooking,

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ing, I came in, and saw that they had stuffed the pot full of dry grasses and green leaves, in which they had wrapped up a few small yams. These roots are therefore in a manner baked in this pot, or undergo the same operation which the natives of Taheitee perform by burying them under a heap of earth, among heated stones. It was with difficulty they would give me time to intrude so far; they repeated their signs that I should go away, and pointing to the huts, moved their fingers several times under their throat; which I interpreted, that if they were observed to be thus alone with a stranger, they would be choaked or killed. I left them after they had made this gesture, and peeped into the huts, which I found quite empty. Returning into the wood, I met Dr. Sparrman; and we went to the women again, in order to look at their work once more, and to be convinced whether I had properly interpreted their signs, or whether they had only some particular objection to my appearance. We found them in the same place, and walking up to them, immediately made them a present of some beads, which they accepted with great expressions of joy; but at the same time they repeated the gestures which they had made when I came alone, and looked at us as if they would add entreaties to their signs, with which we immediately complied, and retired. We met the rest of our company some time after, and being athirst, asked the man who cut his daughter's hair for a little water. He shewed

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us a tree, on which he had hung about a dozen coco-nut shells, filled with fresh water, that element being to all appearance rather scarce in the country. We emptied some of these cups, and made him a present of a bit of Taheitee cloth, with which he seemed to be well pleased. From hence we proceeded to the watering-place, some by land, and some in the boat. We shot some curious birds by the way, with which the country abounds ; and among the rest a species of crow, which is common in Europe. At the watering-place we found a considerable number of natives, some of whom, for a little rag of Taheitee cloth, carried our people into and out of their boats about forty yards, the water being too shallow for boats at that distance from the shore. Here we also saw some women, who, far from expressing any dread of the jealousy of their men, came among the croud, and sometimes amused themselves in encouraging the proposals of our seamen. They commonly beckoned them to come into the bushes, but as soon as the sailors followed, they gave them the flip, and ran with such agility, that they could not be overtaken. Thus they took pleasure in disappointing their new adorers, and laughed very heartily as often as they had put their little arts in practice. There was not a single instance, during our stay upon the island, of their ever having condescended to permit any indecent familiarity from an European ; an innocent recreation, which shewed them good humoured, and

and not destitute of ingenuity, was what they strictly adhered to.

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The captain's clerk purchased a fish on shore, for a piece of Taheitee cloth, from one of the natives, who had killed it with a spear. As soon as he came on board, he sent it to the captain; and as I found it to be a new species, I made a drawing and description of it. It was of the genus, by Linnæus named *tetraodon*, of which several species are reckoned poisonous. We hinted this circumstance to captain Cook, especially as the ugly shape, and large head of the fish, were greatly in its disfavour; but he told us he had eaten this identical sort of fish on the coast of New Holland, during his former voyage, without the least bad consequences. It was accordingly preserved for the next day, and we sat down very chearful, in expectation of a fresh meal. At supper the liver of this fish was served up, which was very large and oily. For this reason the captain, my father, and myself eat only a morsel or two of it, and thought it had no other bad taste, than what arose from the oil. Our messmate, Dr. Sparrman, fortunately did not touch it. We went to bed upon this somewhat early, intending to revisit the shore at day break; but at three o'clock in the morning, my father awaking, found himself extremely giddy, and his hands and feet entirely, as it were, benumbed. He got up, and was scarcely able to stand. He came into the steeage, where Dr. Sparrman slept, and

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acquainted him with his illness. Captain Cook's apartment was only separated by a thin partition: he was awake, and feeling the same symptoms of which he heard my father complain, got out of bed, and found himself unable to walk without holding. I was in the same situation, upon being awakened by my father, and crawled into the cabin, where the surgeon, Mr. Patton, immediately appeared, to assist us. Our disorder had indeed a most serious aspect; the blood had left our cheeks, all our limbs were benumbed, and without sensation, and a great degree of languor and oppression had taken place. Emetics were administered, which gave my father and myself some relief, but had not much effect upon captain Cook. We took a sudorific after this, and went to bed again.

In the morning, about eight, we got up, very giddy and heavy; however I found myself well enough to pass the whole morning in sketching the outlines of six or eight plants, and some birds, which we had collected on our former excursions. Dr. Sparrman, in the mean while, went on shore to collect farther supplies. Towards noon my father endeavoured to converse with some of the natives who came into the ship. At sight of the fish, which was hung under the half-deck, they made signs that it occasioned pain in the stomach, and by leaning their heads upon one hand, and shutting their eyes, expressed that it caused sleep and drowsiness, and death. Still thinking they might only make these

these gestures in order to obtain the fish, we offered it to them, but they refused it with the strongest marks of aversion, holding both their hands out before them, and turning away the head. They afterwards desired us to throw it into the sea, but we determined to preserve it in spirits of wine.

I was severely punished about noon for making light of my complaint, and passing the morning at work; for I was suddenly seized with sickness, and forced to go to bed, by a returning fit of dizziness. The only remedies which gave any relief, were sudorifics; but the poison was of too virulent a nature, to be subdued in a short time. It prevented our making those researches, which from the nature of the country before us, would doubtless have teemed with a variety of interesting discoveries in every branch of natural history. The next morning lieutenant Pickersgill, was sent with the launch and another boat, to an island to the west, about eight leagues distant, which the natives named Balabeea; in order to examine the situation and direction of the coasts in that part. We saw these boats put off with the greatest regret, being obliged by the continuance of our dizziness, to forego this opportunity of examining an extensive tract of unknown country. Absolute inability to stand or walk longer than five minutes at a time, was the only circumstance which withheld us from embarking on this excursion. The poison which had been

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thus fatal to us, had likewise affected several dogs, taken on board at the Society Islands; these creatures having seized upon the remains of the liver, were extremely ill, and had the same symptoms as those which were poisoned at Mallicollo. A little pig, the only one which we obtained at Tanna, having eaten the entrails of the fish, died soon after, being swelled to an unusual size.

The natives who came on board, began now to admire our iron ware, and readily took nails, knives, and hatchets. Tea-booma, the chief, sent captain Cook a present of some sugar-canes and yams, which, considering the poverty of the country, was indeed a kingly present. He was complimented in return with a hatchet, a gimlet, and a Tahitian dog of each sex, these animals being entirely unknown in the country. We endeavoured to obtain the name of this great island from the natives, but we could not succeed, being always put off with the appellations of particular districts. Thus for instance, they called the part opposite to the ship, Baladd; the observatory island, Poozooe; and the district beyond the hills on the S. W. coast, Teabooma; which being also the name of the chief, occasioned several conjectures. The general name of New Caledonia was therefore preserved, particularly as it suited not only with the good disposition of the people, but also with the nature of the country.

We

We ventured, though excessively weakened, to go on shore the next morning. Having landed to the eastward of the watering-place, we walked across a part of the plain, which was wholly uncultivated, and covered with thin dry grasses. A path brought us into a fine wood at the foot of the hills, which abounded with new plants, birds, and insects. Every thing conspired here, to make us look upon the country as a solitude. We saw the hills before us, and on both sides, without a single habitation upon them, and the plain which we had crossed, was in this neighbourhood equally destitute of inhabitants. The population of New Caledonia must indeed be extremely thin; for the soil is unfit for cultivation on the mountains, and the narrow plain itself, is for the greatest part very barren and desert. We proceeded to the eastward, till we came near a few houses, placed among swamps. Some of the inhabitants came to us with great good-nature in their countenances, and pointed out the places where we might walk with safety without sinking into the mud. We observed that their houses had not only a covering of mats made of coco-nut leaves, but that the innermost coating sometimes consisted of the bark of the cayputi-tree. Before one of the huts, some of the natives were eating a few leaves which had been stewed; and others sucking the bark of the *hibiscus tiliaceus*, after they had broiled it over the fire. We tasted of this bark, but found it extremely insipid, nauseous,

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and

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and affording little nutriment. Necessity seems to have forced the people to content themselves with the most scanty means of subsistence, at certain seasons; and no time of the year is more likely to be severely felt, than that of spring, when their winter stores is exhausted, and the new crop is not yet come up. They doubtless supply the deficiency by fishing, for which the extensive reefs round their island furnish the best opportunity; but since our arrival in the harbour it had blown rather fresh, and the wind daily increased to such a pitch, that it would have been to no purpose to venture from the shore. Mahine, whilst he accompanied us, frequently used to mention, that even the opulent natives of Taheitee and the Society Islands, sometimes, though rarely, feel the inconveniences of a dry or barren year, and are obliged during some months, to have recourse to fern-roots, the bark of various trees, and the fruit of wild bushes, to satisfy the cravings of hunger.

We found near these huts a number of tame fowls of a large breed, and bright plumage, which were the only domestic animals of any kind, belonging to the natives; and also saw heaps of shells, which they had collected on the reefs, and of which they had eaten the fish. The temper of these people in general was indolent, and almost destitute of curiosity; the greater part of them did not stir from their seats, when we passed by their huts, spoke very
feldom,

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feldom, and almost always in a serious tone. The women were somewhat more cheerful, and those who were married, carried their infants on their backs in a kind of satchel.

We returned on board about one o'clock, but landed again after dinner. Having observed that the bushes and trees near the sea side, were better stocked with birds than those in the interior country, because they afforded more shade and more food, we confined our excursion to the plain, being desirous of encreasing our zoological collection. We fell in with another group of huts, close to the water; here the natives had put one of their large earthen pots over the fire, and filled it with shells, of which by this means they roasted the fish. We saw one of them who had a hatchet in his hand, of a very remarkable shape. It was made of a crooked piece of wood, which forms a great knob, but has a short handle, not exceeding six inches. The other end is hollowed out, and a black stone just fitting the cavity is placed in it, without being tied on, as is the case with the hatchets of the Society and Friendly Islands. We purchased this hatchet, it being the first instrument relating to agriculture which we had seen in this country. We likewise made an acquisition of some clubs, flings, and spears, and had an opportunity of admiring the skill of several youths, who made use of their flings with the greatest precision. In the course of our rambles, we came to an enclosure of flicks, round a little hillock or mound, four

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feet high; within the enclosure the natives had stuck in the ground some other sticks beset with large trumpet-shells. We enquired for what purpose this spot was so enclosed, and were told that the chiefs of the district were buried in that ground. As we found numerous burying-places on the hills, it appears to be a general custom with the natives, to commit their dead bodies to the earth. This manner of disposing of the dead, seems indeed much more judicious than that of Taheitee, where they expose them above ground, till all the flesh is perfectly putrified. If the mortality were more considerable, than we have reason to believe it in that happy island, this custom might have the most pernicious consequences, and produce a dreadful epidemical distemper. Europeans, above all, should be extremely cautious of communicating any contagious disorder to the people whom they visit in the South Seas. Such a disease as the small pox, for example, would undoubtedly make dreadful havock, and go near to destroy the whole race of Taheitians.

The acrimony of the poison which we had received into the body, by tasting the liver of the fish, had so much weakened us, that we were entirely exhausted towards evening, and obliged to sit down repeatedly, in order to recruit our wasted spirits. We still felt returns of dizziness which made us unfit for any kind of researches, in spite of ourselves, and even deprived us of the power of thinking, judging,

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judging, and remembering, as well as of the perfect use of our external senses. I cannot mention this misfortune, without lamenting once more, that it befell us in a country newly discovered, where we had more need than ever of perfect health, and of all our attention and discernment, in order to make the most of the few moments which we were allowed to spend among a people wholly different from all we had hitherto seen. The reader, who perhaps may find less food for his curiosity in this part of our narrative, than he expected, is requested to consider our unhappy situation at that time, when all our corporeal and intellectual faculties were impaired by this virulent poison. We came back before it was dark to the ship, which the natives left soon after our return. A few of them only went off in canoes; for, as the wind blew very hard, the greatest number had come on board swimming, and returned the same way. We saw forty or fifty put off together, and in spite of the great agitation of the water, swim to the shore; it blew so hard the next morning, however, that none of them came back to the ship.

We went ashore again, though we were much wetted in our passage thither, and took a walk to the westward. On this excursion we saw a great number of birds, and enriched our collection with many new species. It is not to be doubted, that the vicinity of such an extensive continent as that of New Holland, contributes to encrease the variety of animal

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and vegetable species in this island. To confirm this assertion, we may quote the testimony of captain Cook, and of all those persons who had seen New Holland with him in the Endeavour, and who, upon examining New Caledonia, unanimously pronounced that in its general appearance it perfectly resembled that continent. New Holland is said to differ from New Caledonia only in having a more fertile soil in some places, consisting of a stratum of vegetable earth; but there is no difference in the growth of the trees, the want of shrubbery in the forests, and the general dryness or parched appearance of the country. We stopped at several houses of the natives, situated in a group of shady trees; the inhabitants of these huts were seated on the ground, without any occupation, and none but young people rose from their seats at our approach. We found here a man who had perfectly flaxen hair, a complexion much fairer than common, and his face covered with freckles. Anomalous individuals have been found among the Negroes of Africa, and the inhabitants of America, the Moluccas, and the tropical islands of the South Sea; but their weak habit of body, and particularly a weakness in their eyes, have given the greatest room to believe, that a disease of the parents occasioned these varieties *. In the man whom we

* This opinion is very ably set forth by M. Paauw, in the *Recherches Philosophiques sur le Americains*, vol. II. sect. I. Des Blafards & des Negres-blancs.

saw,

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saw, no symptom of weakness, and no defect in the organs of sight could be observed; and therefore some flighter cause must have influenced the colour of his hair and skin. A gentleman cut off a lock of his hair, as well as another from a man of the common colour, and gave them both to us. The natives expressed some dislike on losing their lock of hair, but as he had performed the operation before they were aware, he soon pacified them with a few trifles. Their good temper, and their indolence, seem to make their resentment very short-lived, especially upon trifling occasions.

After leaving these huts, we rambled separately all the morning, and did not rejoin each other till it was time to return. Dr. Sparrman, with my father, had gone upon the hills, whilst I remained in the woody skirts of the plain, and conversed as well as I could with the natives. They gave me the names of many districts upon their island, of which we had not heard before, and of which we could not make use, for want of knowing their proper situations. Here I saw again many individuals with one leg, or arm, of an enormous size, in the same manner as I had observed some at our first landing, (see p. 383.) and one had both his legs afflicted in the same manner. I touched this swelling, and found it extremely hard; but the skin was not harsh and scaly alike in all the sick persons. The preternatural expansion of the leg or arm did not appear to be a great inconvenience to them, and, as far

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far as I understood, they rarely feel any pain it; but in some the disorder caused a kind of excoriation, and began to form blotches, which were marks of a greater degree of virulence. The leprosy, of which this elephantiasis, or prodigious swelling, according to the opinion of the medical faculty, is a species, seems to be a disease particularly incident to dry, parched climates. The countries where it commits the greatest ravages, as the coast of Malabar, Egypt, Palestine, and all Africa, are remarkable for droughts, and contain in many places vast tracts of sandy deserts. I do not mean to suppose that leprosy is the natural effect of a dry climate, but only to hint, that heat and drought may contribute to make the human body more liable to its attacks. I observed this day that the women of New Caledonia are hardly so much esteemed by the men as those of Tanna. They commonly kept at a distance from the men, and seemed fearful of offending them by a look or gesture; they were the only persons in the family who had any employment, and several of them brought bundles of sticks and fuel on their backs. Their insensible husbands seldom deigned to look upon them, and continued in a kind of phlegmatic indolence, whilst the women sometimes indulged that social cheerfulness, which is the distinguishing ornament of the sex. Thus, in every country, mankind are fond of being tyrants, and the poorest Indian, who knows no wants but those which his existence requires, has already learnt

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learnt to enslave his weaker helpmate, in order to save himself the trouble of supplying those wants, and cruelly exacts an obedience from her, which has been continued among savages as a curse upon the sex*. Considering these humiliations and cruel oppressions of the sex, we have sometimes the greatest reason to admire, that the human race has perpetuated itself, and that the Creator has wisely planted a motive in the female breast, which stands the test of every outrage, which makes them patient to suffer, and prevents their withdrawing from the power of their tyrants.

After dining on board, we passed the afternoon ashore again, and were so far successful in our researches, as to obtain a beautiful species of parrot, which was entirely new to zoologists. It was shot in a plantation far exceeding every thing I had seen upon New Caledonia for extent, as well as for the variety and flourishing state of the vegetables in it. There were several walks of bananas, several fields of yams and eddoes, together with sugar-canes, and likewise some species of yamboo-trees (*eugenia*), which we had never seen before. Different parts of it were separated by paths, and the whole was kept in good order. Industrious individuals are therefore to be met with even among these indolent people; and when navigators have an opportunity of becoming the benefactors of savages, for example, by

* Gen. iii. ver. 16.

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giving them domestic animals, they should select such people as are most likely to make a good use of their presents.

We returned on board in the evening, after shooting at a mark to amuse some of the natives, who set up their clubs for that purpose, and were much pleased with our supposed skill. Soon after arrived the two boats which lieutenant Pickersgill had conducted to the westward, and which had been detained by contrary winds. We were fortunate enough to collect the following particulars of that intelligent officer's excursion. Having set out from the ship, he did not approach the shore till he had advanced several leagues, and saw many turtles on the water, of which he could not strike one, on account of the violence of the wind. The boats putting ashore, found the face of the country, towards the N. W. end of the island, very like the part opposite our anchoring place, though considerably more fertile and cultivated, and covered with many coco-trees. The natives were as civil and inoffensive in this place as we had found them from the beginning. Two of them, who had already been on board the ship, hearing that our people intended to cross over to the isle of Balabeea, more to the northward, took a passage in the cutter. One of them, whose name was Boobik, was a merry fellow, different in this respect from most of his countrymen; he talked a great deal to our people at first, and taught them his name, which
they

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they pronounced *booby*, with the same pleasure with which he heard it. After some time, however, the waves rising, and frequently washing into the boat, he became very silent, and crept into a boat-cloak, to screen himself from the wet, and recover from the chilliness which the wind occasioned on his naked body. He likewise grew very hungry, having taken no provisions with him, and very thankfully received what our people offered him. His situation, and that of all his companions, however, became very soon alarming to the highest degree. The cutter sprung a leak, which admitted such quantities of water, that it was impossible to free the boat, though every body baled with his hat, or such utensil as he could find most fit for the purpose. They were presently reduced to heave over-board a cask of fresh water, and many other articles, in order to lighten the boat; but all was to no purpose, till having cleared away some bundles, they found the leak, which they stopped as well as they could for the present with their caps, and with rags, and proceeded for the isle of Balabeea with all possible dispatch. Mr. Pickersgill, in the launch, met a canoe of that island with a few natives, who had caught a large quantity of fish, of which they readily shared out a part to him for a trifling consideration of iron-ware. It was late in the afternoon when he arrived upon the island. The natives, being exactly of the same race as those of New Caledonia, were not less good-tempered, and freely parted with their

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arms to our people for trifles of iron-ware, or Taheitee cloth. They also, at the desire of Mr. Pickersgill, brought him some fresh water.

In the evening our party retired to a few bushes, and made a great fire, by which they broiled the fish which had been presented to them, and ate their suppers. A number of the natives still remained with them, and spoke of a great land to the northward, which they called Mingha, of which the inhabitants were their enemies, and very warlike. They likewise pointed out a sepulchral mound or *tumulus*, where one of their chiefs lay buried, who had been killed in defence of his own country, by the hand of a native of Mingha. The appearance of a large beef-bone, which some of our people began to pick towards the conclusion of their supper, interrupted this conversation. The natives talked very loud and earnestly to each other, looked with great surprize, and some marks of disgust, at our people, and at last went away all together, expressing by signs that they suspected the strangers of eating human flesh. Our officer endeavoured to free himself and his shipmates from this suspicion; but the want of language was an unsurmountable obstacle to this undertaking, even supposing it possible to persuade a set of people, who had never seen a quadruped in their lives. The next morning they went about to mend their boat, and spread their wet cloaths upon the ground to dry in the sun. The natives gathered about them

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them in great crouds from all parts of the island, and Mr. Pickersgill found it adviseable to draw lines on the sand, in order to secure the cloaths of his people. The natives very readily came into his proposal, and never crossed the lines. One of them, however, seemed to be more surpris'd than all the rest at this contrivance, and with a great deal of humour drew a circle round about himself, on the ground, with a stick; and intimated, by many ludicrous gestures, that every body present should keep at a distance from him. This little folly was the more striking, as it was extremely uncommon among the grave inhabitants of these countries. They spent the day in repairing their boats, and examining the island on which they had landed; and the next morning before day-break put off, in order to return. They were, however, unfortunate enough to find their repairs to little purpose, and therefore, in order to lighten the boat, landed on New Caledonia at six in the morning. They left only the rowers in the boat, and proceeded on foot, along a coast of near twenty-four miles, to the land abreast of the ship. One of the surgeon's mates, who went on this excursion, collected a prodigious variety of new and curious shells upon the island of Ballabeea, and likewise met with many new species of plants, of which we did not see a single specimen in the districts we had visited; but the meanest and most unreasonable envy taught him to conceal these discoveries from us, though he was utterly incapable of

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making use of them for the benefit of science *. We had therefore more reason than ever to regret that our illness disabled us from sharing the perils of this little excursion.

We accompanied captain Cook the next morning into the river to the eastward, where he went to give his friend

* It will not be improper to acquaint the reader, that we were so situated on board the Resolution, as to meet with obstacles in all our researches, from those who might have been expected to give us all manner of assistance. It has always been the fate of science and philosophy to incur the contempt of ignorance, and this we might have suffered without repining; but as we could not purchase the good will of every petty tyrant with gold, we were studiously debarred the means of drawing the least advantage to science from the observations of others, who of themselves did not know how to make the proper use of a discovery when they had made it. Circumstances which were known to every person around us, remained impenetrable mysteries to us; and it was assuredly not owing to the good nature of our shipmates, if we have been fortunate enough to obtain even such trifling information, as has enabled me to give the true and exact situations of every place in this narrative, and in my chart. If it had been possible, they would have deceived even our eyes. It may seem extraordinary, that men of science, sent out in a ship belonging to the most enlightened nation in the world, should be cramped and deprived of the means of pursuing knowledge, in a manner which would only become a set of barbarians; but it is certain, that the traveller who visits the ruins of Egypt and Palestine, cannot experience greater mortification from the ignorant selfishness of Bedouins and other Arabs, than fell to our lot; since every discovery we attempted to make, was supposed to contain a treasure, which became the object of envy. The world will, however, derive one advantage from this proceeding; we shall have little to offer, but what we have seen with our own eyes, and for the truth and precision of which we can be answerable. If there had not been a few individuals of a more liberal way of thinking, whose disinterested love for the sciences comforted us from time to time, we should in all probability have fallen victims to that malevolence, which even the positive commands of captain Cook were sometimes insufficient to keep within bounds.

Heebai

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Heebaï a little pig of each sex, in order to provide, if possible, a stock of domestic animals for a nation, whose good, inoffensive temper seemed highly to deserve such a present. We found this man and his family at the huts where we had first seen him ; and captain Cook having delivered the pigs to him, each of us contributed his mite of knowledge of the language, in order to make it intelligible to him, that the propagation of these animals would supply him, in course of time, with constant food, and that they deserved to be carefully nursed. He, as well as the whole family, were surprised at the sight of these creatures, and at first expressed so much dislike and dread of them, that they made signs to us to take them back. We now redoubled our efforts to convince them of their error, and at last prevailed upon them to keep the pigs. It must be allowed, that swine are far from being well-looking quadrupeds, and that those who have never seen an animal of that class, cannot be supposed to like them at first sight. Men seem to have had recourse to animal food through necessity at first, as the depriving any creature of life is an act of violence, which demands a powerful cause, before it is made familiar by habit. When they had the choice, it should seem that such ill-looking animals as hogs were commonly rejected, till a more urgent opportunity proved, that, in spite of their appearance, their flesh was as delicious as that of sheep and oxen. The poor natives of New
Cale-

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Caledonia had hitherto tasted no other animal food than fish and birds, and therefore the introduction of a quadruped into their œconomy, could not fail to surprise them. We walked about for some time among the marshes and plantations, and came to a house detached from the rest, which was enclosed by stakes, and behind which we saw a row of wooden pillars. Each of them was about a foot square, and nine feet high; and on the top of each a human head was rudely carved. Here we found a solitary old man, who, on our pointing to these pillars, made signs that they indicated his burying-place. Nothing is more remarkable in the history of mankind, than the general concurrence of different nations, to erect a monument on the spot where they lie buried. To dive into the original motives for this custom, with various people, would be a curious and interesting pursuit, and might perhaps lead us to discover, among all nations an universal idea of a future state.

After leaving this spot, we passed a plantation, where the natives, and particularly the women, were at work to clear, and dig up a piece of swampy ground, probably in order to plant it with yams or eddoes. They had an instrument with a long crooked, and sharp-pointed bill, like the bill of a bird, with which they stirred up the soil. The same tool they frequently make use of as an offensive weapon, and as such I mentioned it page 385. It seems the
foil

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soil of this country is so poor, as to require more than ordinary pains to make it fit for planting, especially as I never observed the people digging in this manner, in any of the islands of the South Sea. We shot some curious and beautiful birds at this place, and then returned to the ship, where we found all the other boats hoisted in. We landed at the watering-place after dinner, where captain Cook ordered the following inscription to be cut into a remarkable large and shady tree on the beach, close to the rivulet; "His Britannic Majesty's Ship Resolution, Sept. 1774." This being done, we rambled for the last time along the brook, which had supplied us with as much water as we had expended since our departure from Tanna; and having snatched a few plants, which our disorder had caused us to overlook before, we took our last leave of this large island, and were hurried on board from our scene of action.

At day-light the next morning, the seamen weighed the anchors, the ship soon cleared the reefs, and we stood along shore to the N. W. We had lain in this harbour exactly seven days and a half; but on the third night after our arrival, we were poisoned by eating of the fish, by which means we lost the opportunity of making the most of this short stay. On leaving this place, we were far from being recovered, but had daily acute head-aches, and spasmodic pains over the body, together with an eruption on our lips.

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lips. We also felt ourselves much weakened, and unfit to go through our usual occupations; whilst the want of fresh food greatly contributed to keep us in a lingering state, and retarded our recovery. Thus we left an island situated in the westernmost part of the South Pacific Ocean, not above 12 degrees distant from the coast of New Holland, and inhabited by a race of men very distinct from all we had hitherto seen in the same ocean. From their vicinity to New Holland, one might have been apt to suppose, that they had the same origin with the people of that continent; but upon comparing all the accounts of former voyagers, who have visited New Holland, its inhabitants bear no resemblance to one another, and as a farther proof, the vocabulary of both nations is totally different*. Their numbers appear to be very inconsiderable, and the most probable guess we would form of them, after ranging the whole northern coast of the island, does not make them amount to fifty thousand, upon a sea-coast of near two hundred leagues. The country which they inhabit, seems indeed to be very unfit for cultivation in most parts. The narrow plain which surrounds it, is full of swamps on the sea-side, covered with mangroves; and this part is with much trouble drained by ditches, and dug till it is made fit for the purposes of

* A vocabulary of the New Holland language was obligingly communicated to us by captain Cook.

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agriculture. The rest of the plain is somewhat higher, but in return excessively dry, so that they are obliged to moisten it by means of canals which conduct the water from the rivulets or pools. Beyond this several hillocks rise, covered with a dry parched earth, where some species of shrivelled grass, the cayputi-tree, and a few shrubs thrive, at a great distance asunder; and from thence upwards, the interior mountains are almost entirely destitute of vegetable earth in many places, and consist of a shining red glimmer, and large pieces of quartz. The nature of this soil cannot give luxuriance to the growth of vegetables; on the contrary, it is rather surprising, that such a variety of species spring up in it, as we met with, though they are for the greatest part dry, and of a very homely appearance. Only the woods on some parts of the plain, are filled with shrubberies, bind-weeds, gay flowers, and tufted shady trees. It is easy to be conceived, that the contrast between Nova Caledonia, and the New Hebrides, was very striking to us, who had so lately visited those rich and fertile islands, where the vegetable kingdom glories in its greatest perfection. The difference in the character of the people was no less surprising. All the natives of the South Sea islands, excepting those only which Tasman found on Tonga-Tabboo and Namoka*, made some attempt to drive away the strangers

* And those perhaps had been informed of what had passed between le Maire, and the natives of Horne, Cocos, and Traitors Island, some years before.

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who came to visit them. But the people of New Caledonia at the first sight of us, received us as friends ; they ventured to come on board our ship, without the least marks of fear or distrust, and suffered us to ramble freely throughout their country as far as we pleased. They resembled most the people of Tanna in colour, and the woolliness of their hair ; but their stature was superior, their limbs in general more stout, their features more mild, open, and inoffensive ; and their customs in many respects very different. The peculiar character of their faces may be seen in the accurate portraits which Mr. Hodges has drawn of each sex, and which are engraved for captain Cook's account of this voyage. A just idea of the country may likewise be formed, by consulting the views which that ingenious artist has copied from nature. There is, however, some similarity between their manufactures, and those of Tanna ; especially in the shape of their arms, in the use of the rope or *becket*, (see p. 279.) to throw the spear, in the nature of the ornaments which they wear, and particularly in what I have mentioned p. 277, and p. 383*. The language, which on these occasions is the surest guide, is totally dissimilar ; their dwellings are of a different construction, and their mode of living seems to correspond only in a few instances. The

* Their arms, their cap, their becket, and various other articles have been accurately drawn and engraved, under my father's inspection, for captain Cook's account of this voyage.

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people of Tanna are rich, in comparison with those of New Caledonia; their plantations furnish them with abundance of vegetables, and if these should fail, the woods on their sea-shore are full of coco-palms, which offer an ample store of fruits. At New Caledonia, the plantations yield in most places a scanty produce; and the wild country, as far as we had an opportunity of examining it, does not contain a single article which could be deemed of great service. On the other hand, the people of New Caledonia seem to be great fishermen, and the reefs round their island, give them excellent opportunities for this purpose, and are doubtless at certain seasons, the resort of turtles. As nature has been so sparing here of her gifts, it is the most surprising, that instead of seeing the inhabitants savage, distrustful, and warlike as at Tanna, we should find them peaceable, well-disposed, and unsuspicious. It is not less remarkable, that in spite of the drought which prevails in their country, and the scanty supply of vegetable food, they should have attained to a greater size, and a more muscular body. Perhaps instead of placing the causes which effect disparity of stature among various nations in the difference of food, this instance ought to teach us, to have some retrospect likewise to the original races from which those tribes are descended, that fell under our examination. Let us for instance suppose, that the people of New Caledonia are the offspring of a nation, who by living in affluence, and in a genial

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climate, have not been stinted in their growth ; the colony which removed into the barren soil of New Caledonia, will probably preserve the habit of body of their ancestors for many generations. The people of Tanna may have undergone a contrary revolution, and being descended of a slender and short race, like the Mallicollese, the richness of their present country may not yet entirely have taken effect. These hints are submitted to the learned, whose province it is to confirm or refute them ; but on which side soever the truth may fall, I shall rest equally contented, as I have adopted no particular system.

The inoffensive character of the people of New Caledonia appears to great advantage in their conduct towards us. They are the only people in the South Seas who have not had reason to complain of our arrival among them. When we consider how easy it is to provoke the mariner to sport with the lives of Indians, from the numerous examples throughout this narrative, we must acknowledge that it required an uncommon degree of good temper, not to draw upon themselves a single act of brutality. Those philosophers who are of opinion that the temper, the manners, and genius of a people, depend entirely upon the climate, will be at a loss to account for the peaceful character of the inhabitants of New Caledonia. If we admit that they are only strangers to distrust, because they have little to lose, we shall not solve the difficulty ; since the people of New Holland,

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land, under the influence of a similar climate and soil, and in a more wretched situation than the inhabitants of New Caledonia, are savage and unsociable. The different characters of nations seem therefore to depend upon a multitude of different causes, which have acted together during a series of many ages. The inhabitants of New Caledonia do not owe their kind disposition to a total ignorance of wars and disputes; the variety of their offensive weapons being alone sufficient to put this matter out of doubt. By conversing with them we learnt that they have enemies, and that the people of an island called Mingha had a very different character from their own. I was once in a boat with captain Cook and Mr. Wales, when one of the natives acquainted us by very significant and intelligible gestures, that they had enemies who feasted on human flesh; and the behaviour of the inhabitants of Balabeea, on seeing our people eat salt beef, which they mistook for human flesh, contributes to prove that such a custom is not unknown to them, and that they look upon it with horror and detestation. Civilization is therefore much farther advanced in this respect among them, than with their more opulent neighbours. That higher degree of culture, where the understanding is sufficiently enlightened to remove the unjust contempt shewn to the fair sex, is however unknown to them; their temper is too grave to be captivated by female blandishments, or to set a proper value upon the refined enjoyments

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joyments of life. They are obliged to work hard, at times, for the means of subsistence; but their leisure hours are spent in indolence, without those little recreations which contribute so much to the happiness of mankind, and diffuse a spirit of cheerfulness and vivacity throughout the Society and Friendly Islands. Besides the little whistle which I have mentioned above, we never saw a musical instrument among the people of New Caledonia. Their dances and songs are equally unknown to us; and what we observed during our short stay, gave us reason to suppose, that even laughter is an uncommon guest among them. They are likewise niggards of speech, and we rarely met with individuals among them, who took a pleasure in holding converse with us. Their language therefore seems to be uncultivated, and their pronunciation so indistinct, that the vocabularies which several of our shipmates collected, disagreed remarkably. Though they have few harsh consonants, they have a frequent return of gutturals and sometimes a nasal sound, or *rhinismus*, which commonly puzzled those who were not acquainted with any other language than the English. Perhaps, their plantations lying remote from each other, are the means of preventing that familiar intercourse which would gradually give life to the pleasures of society. As their country seems not to be very fit for agriculture, the best means to forward civilization among them might be the introduction of quadrupeds, such as
they

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they should not find it difficult to maintain ; for instance, a few hogs, to keep near their huts, and goats to run wild. The latter in all probability would thrive extremely well in that dry climate, and afford an excellent article of food.

That simplicity which is remarkable in their domestic life, cannot fail to be conspicuous in their government. Teàbooma was acknowledged as a chief in the district opposite the ship's anchoring-place ; but the poverty of the country did not afford him great and exclusive advantages, and luxury being hitherto unknown, he lived like the rest of his countrymen. Among a people so simple we cannot expect exterior marks of deference ; and the only act which seemed to indicate a certain degree of homage on their part, consisted in delivering to the chief, the presents which they had received from Mr. Pickersgill at their first interview. The neighbouring districts are not under the government of Teàbooma, and probably have their own chiefs ; or perhaps each family forms a little kingdom of its own, which is directed by its patriarch, as must be the case in all infant states. We cannot attempt to extend our observations to the religion of the natives, of which, in the space of eight days, we had no opportunity of acquiring any information. We did not observe any thing which might distantly be construed into a religious act, nor remark a single custom which had the least colour of superstition. Probably the
simplicity

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simplicity of their ideas on this subject, corresponds with the whole tenour of their character. There is nothing to disprove this supposition, unless the flight marks which point out their burying-places, should be deemed indications that some ceremonies attend their funerals. Death, the most remarkable scene in the oeconomy of human affairs, is commonly honoured with some unusual act by the survivors; and grief is particularly apt to be extravagant. It remains unknown whether the mortality is great or moderate at New Caledonia, and what diseases are most fatal in that island. We saw no other than the elephantiasis, a sort of leprosy, which I have already mentioned, and which was very common. However, I never observed this evil in so violent a degree, that the patient seemed to be in danger of losing his life by it. Upon the whole, a great multitude of diseases are the consequences of unbounded luxury, and cannot take place among persons so little refined as those of New Caledonia. I saw some among them whose grey hair and wrinkles indicated a great age; but it was impossible to converse with them upon such an abstract idea as age, supposing they took the pains to number their years. We were not able to make ourselves understood when we attempted to make enquiries at Taheitee concerning the age of the inhabitants, though our knowledge of their language was very extensive, when compared with the few words which we had snatched up in haste on New Caledonia.

Caledonia. After these few remarks, I resume the narrative of the voyage.

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We steered between the north and west, along the reefs which enclose New Caledonia, in order to ascertain the position of lands which we had indistinctly seen in that quarter. Having advanced towards Balabeca, we found the reefs running northerly, and in some places near six leagues from the shore. Man of war birds, boobies, and tropic birds frequented this part of the sea in great numbers, hovering about our ship. We discovered on the 15th, that there were three islands to the north of the west end of New Caledonia; but, as the reef extended very far to the east of them, and we could find no passage, it was impossible to form an exact idea of their figure and extent. The largest of them might be about seven leagues long. We were becalmed on the 15th, within four miles of the reef, towards which a heavy swell drifted us very visibly. In order to prevent striking on these dangerous rocks, we hoisted out two boats, and the crew were obliged to labour very hard to tow the ship off. A faint breeze in the evening gave them some respite, but at midnight they were obliged to return to their work, releasing each other from time to time. The morning was so calm that we went out to shoot birds, but had little success. We did not obtain a breeze till the evening came on, and then, instead of losing our time in farther researches to the northward, where we

Thursday 15.

Friday 16.

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tried in vain to find a passage, we left that part, and prepared to range the south-east end of New Caledonia. The northernmost lands, which we had seen, lie in $19^{\circ} 37'$ S. and $163^{\circ} 40'$ E.

Saturday 17.

The next morning we passed the district of Balladd, where we had lain at anchor. Repeated calms rendered our course very tedious; we did not advance above twenty leagues in two days, and still seeing the land to the south of us, were apprehensive of coming late to New Zealand, where it was now said we should prepare for the last southern cruize. We continued however standing to the eastward, and somewhat southerly, having gentle breezes which lasted several hours, between the calm intervals. On the

Thursday 22.

22d, in the evening, we saw a remarkable bluff point on the land, which was named Cape Coronation, in commemoration of that day. The reefs which had enclosed the northern coasts of New Caledonia, did not extend to this part; but as we had hitherto kept at the distance of four or five leagues, we could not discern any thing of the nature of the country, except that the ridge of mountains continued to run along of the same height as near our anchoring-place, and without any remarkable prominences or peaks. In the morning we saw a spot of ground, which could not be less than half a mile in length, from whence a quantity of smoke ascended. The sea coast near it was covered with innumerable columnar forms, of a considerable height; which

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which we distinguished by the help of our glasses. Some of them stood remote from each other, but far the greater part were placed in close, and seemingly compact, groups. The nature of the pillars of Basaltes, which are found in many parts of the world*, gave us some reason to look upon these extraordinary appearances as so many colonnades of Basaltes; and having so lately seen several volcanoes in the neighbourhood, and one so near as Tanna, we were greatly strengthened in this opinion, it being asserted by the most judicious and experienced mineralogists, that basaltes is a volcanic production. In the evening, having left Cape Coronation astern, we discerned a vast quantity of these columnar forms projecting into the sea, on a flat point.

Early on the 24th, we came in sight of a cape which terminated New Caledonia to the east; it was rather steep, but of no great height, and perfectly level at the top to a considerable distance. A number of pillars stood upon it, which something invalidated the opinion of their being basalt-columns. This cape, which captain Cook named Queen Charlotte's Foreland, lies in $22^{\circ} 15' S.$ and $167^{\circ} 15' E.$ In the evening, towards six o'clock, another island was discovered far to the south-east from the mast-head, and the next morning several small islands appeared between

* Near Assuan, or Syene, in Upper Egypt; at Bolsena in Italy; near Hadié in Arabia Felix; at Hildesheim, Stolpen, and Yauer, in different parts of Germany; in the Hebrides of Scotland; and in the county of Antrim in Ireland.

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New Caledonia and this new discovery, which the instability of the wind would not permit us to examine. We observed, however, that a great reef enclosed these islands, which seemed entirely to preclude a passage, and obliged us to stand on to the eastward, in order to weather all the distant land in sight. This part of our cruise was extremely disagreeable and tantalizing; we longed to have an opportunity of examining the country, and were at present in great distress for fresh food. A scanty portion of yams remained, which were eaten as dainties at the officers tables; but the crew had not tasted any refreshments since our departure from Namoka. The appearance of new lands made but little amends for the involuntary fast which we kept, and only supported our hopes of making some fortunate discovery, which might perhaps offer us fresh supplies.

We did not obtain a settled breeze till the 26th in the evening, when we immediately began to ply to windward, in order to double the large island before us. It consisted of a mountain of less elevation than New Caledonia, and easy of ascent, every where surrounded by flat land, on which the columnar bodies were innumerable. As we made several trips within two miles in-shore, we were at last convinced that they were nothing else than trees, which on a prodigious tall stem had short and slender branches, not discernible at a distance.

We

We doubled the eastermost extremity of this island, and of its reefs, on the 28th, at day-break, and then bore away along its south-east shore. Captain Cook gave it the name of Isle of Pines, suspecting the columnar trees upon it to be of that kind. It seems to be about eighteen leagues in circumference, and the middle is situated in $22^{\circ} 40' S.$ and $167^{\circ} 40' E.$ The south-east wind, which had now set in very fresh, cooled the air so much in this latitude, that the thermometer sunk to 68° , which caused a disagreeable sensation to our bodies, long used to a warmer climate. The next day we found a passage between several reefs, and came to an anchor off a little island, not above two miles in circuit, which was covered with tall columnar trees, though it was intirely flat and sandy. The south end of New Caledonia was not above six leagues distant from hence, and the southern coast of that island seemed to run nearly parallel to the northern, giving the whole a long, narrow shape. This south point, which was called the Prince of Wales's Foreland, lies in $22^{\circ} 30' S.$ and $166^{\circ} 58' E.$

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We hoisted a boat out immediately, and rowed to the little islet, which was about a mile and a half from us. It was surrounded with a small reef of its own, in which we found a narrow passage, containing many rocks, notwithstanding which we landed with safety. The tall trees immediately demanded our first attention, and we found that they

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they belonged to the genus of cypresses. They were remarkably strait, and at least ninety or a hundred feet high. Their branches grew round the stem, forming little tufts, but seldom exceeded the length of ten feet, and were very slender in proportion. A variety of other trees and shrubs grew up between them, and rendered this little spot the resort of a great number of birds. We saw here also some scurvy-grafs, and another plant (*tetragonia*), which we commonly made use of at New Zealand in our soups. Captain Cook returned to the ship with us, after this discovery, intending to land again after dinner, in order to cut down some of the trees, and to collect some greens. We met with a variety of plants in the afternoon, which quite surprised us, on such a confined spot. We also saw some fire-places on its sandy shores, on which lay the remains of several turtles, which had probably afforded a delicious repast to some of the natives. A species of hawk was shot, which proved to be the common *falco haliaëtus*, or osprey *; a kind of fly-catcher likewise fell into our hands, which was not known before; but besides this we saw several large beautiful pigeons, which we could not shoot. Flat-tailed water-snakes (*anguis platyura*) were likewise numerous upon the island. The cypress-trees were found to be exceeding good timber, and the younger ones were very elastic, and fit for studding

* See Mr. Pennant's British Zoology.

fail-booms. After rambling about this little spot till near
 sun-set, we all returned on board, and at day-light the next
 morning, weighed the anchor, and sailed slowly on to clear
 the reefs. Captain Cook gave this little islet the name of
 Botany Island, because it contained in so small a space a
flora of near thirty species, among which we saw several
 new ones. Its situation is nearly $22^{\circ} 28'$ S. and 167°
 $16'$ E. Its soil is very sandy on the shores, but in the in-
 terior part mixed with vegetable earth, from the trees and
 plants which continually decay on it, without being cleared
 away by human industry. Whilst we lay at anchor, the
 first lieutenant caught a fish, exactly of the same species
 with that which poisoned captain Cook, my father, and
 myself. He ordered it to be cleaned and boiled, in spite of
 the earnest representations of all his messmates, who warned
 him against its pernicious effects. It was at last set before
 him, by his positive orders, and his friends found no other
 means to save him, than to ridicule his mad design. Their
 humorous and satirical remarks had a better effect than
 friendly admonitions, and he desisted from the attempt.
 A little dog was, however, unfortunate enough to eat of the
 entrails of the fish, and lay several days in such exquisite
 torments, that it was at last thrown overboard, to put an
 end to its pain and misery. This circumstance proves to
 what great distresses we were now driven for want of fresh
 food, since even the risk of being poisoned was made light
 of.

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of, for the sake of a single meal. All our officers, who had made several voyages round the world, and experienced a multiplicity of hardships, acknowledged at present, that all their former sufferings were not to be compared to those of the present voyage, and that they had never before so thoroughly loathed a salt diet. Captain Cook had made a provision of dried hams for the voyage, which by length of time were much corrupted; all the fat being converted into a rancid oil, and the salt having filled the flesh with a quantity of alkaline concretions like tartar. However, as often as this putrid and loathsome meat was carried to table, which happened once a week, the petty officers devoured it with wistful looks, and spoke of our good fortune so feelingly, that it would have given pain to a savage. It was owing to our having such an excellent preservative as four-kROUT on board, that the scurvy did not at this time make any considerable progress amongst us; but our situation was indeed wretched enough, without the additional horrors of disease.

We were becalmed in the evening among the reefs, which surrounded us on all sides, and made our situation dangerous, on account of the tides and currents, as well as for want of anchoring-ground, having founded in vain with a line of 150 fathoms. At half past seven o'clock we saw a ball of fire to the northward, in size and splendor resembling the sun, though somewhat paler. It burst a
few

few moments after, and left behind it several bright sparks, of which the largest, of an oblong shape, moved quickly out of our horizon, whilst a kind of bluish flame followed, and marked its course. Some heard a hissing noise, which accompanied the swift descent of this meteor. Our shipmates expected a fresh gale after its appearance, having frequently observed the same to ensue upon similar occasions. And in fact, whatever may be the relation between this phenomenon, and the motion of the atmosphere, or whether it was accident, their predictions were verified the same night. A brisk gale sprung up, which settled at south, the next morning, and permitted us to direct our course E. by S. and S. S. E. from New Caledonia. This island, the largest hitherto discovered in the South Seas between the tropics, remains entirely unexplored on its south side. The direction and outline of its northern coast, was sketched out during the short time which we could afford to spend on this valuable discovery; but its animals, vegetables, and minerals still remain untouched, and offer an ample field to the naturalist. The appearance of cypress-trees on the eastern part, seems to prove that the nature of the soil, and the mineral productions are totally different in that part, from those of Balladd, of which we had a cursory view; and from what we saw on the little sandy Botany Island, a distinct set of plants must there cover the ground, and various unknown birds inhabit the woods. Thus it still

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remains for future navigators, to continue our discoveries in the South Seas, and to take more time in investigating their productions. Several parts of the Pacific Ocean are still untouched by former tracks; for instance, the space between 10° S. and the line, across the whole ocean, from America to New Britain; the space between 10° S. and 14° S. included between the meridian of 140° and 160° W. the space included between the parallels of 30° and 20° S. and the meridian of 140° and 175° west; the space between the southernmost of the Friendly Islands, and New Caledonia, and that between New Caledonia and New Holland. M. de Surville's track, which I have mentioned vol. I. p. 238, is the only one which lies between these two countries. But New Guinea, New Britain, and all the lands in that neighbourhood, obviously require to be more minutely examined, and would doubtless reward the navigator by a world of new and important discoveries. All these districts of the South Sea being searched, the northern part of the same sea will require several voyages before it can be thoroughly explored.

Sunday 2.

It fell calm again on the 2d in the forenoon, and several sharks appearing about the ship, one of them was caught, and divided instantly among the whole ship's company. We had our share of it, which the keen fauce of hunger made very delicious to our palate, though it was in fact very oily.

We

We soon recovered a westerly breeze, which permitted us to go to the S. S. E. after crossing the tropic of capricorn.

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On the fifth in the afternoon, we had sight of two albatrosses again, being between the 26th and 27th degree of south latitude. The calm which happened the day after, permitted our officers to go out in a boat, in order to shoot some birds ; but after toiling the whole day, they brought on board only four, of which two were petrels, and two albatrosses. We were now once more on the confines of the easterly trade-wind, which so near the solstice became variable as soon as we had passed the tropic. On the 7th in the afternoon, we had a gentle breeze with which we sailed between the south and west ; captain Cook being desirous to fall in with the west coast of New Zealand, in order to escape the same difficulties which we had experienced the year before in going into Cook's Strait. In the evening of the 8th, a numerous shoal of large porpoises passed the ship, and played about it, leaping frequently out of the water. One of them was struck with an harpoon, and by giving it a great deal of line, we had time to hoist a boat out, and to kill it with five musket shot. It was of that species which the ancients called the dolphin*, and which, with the common porpoise, is found in every sea. It was six feet long, and its dug was full of

Wednesday 5.

* Δελφιν, Aristot. *Delphinus delphis*, Linn.

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milk, it being a viviparous animal of the class which suckle their own young. It was cut up the next morning, and the meat distributed to the ship's company ; its colour was not very inviting, being almost black ; but its taste after cutting away all the fat, was very like beef, only somewhat dry. We dined on it very heartily, and were very well contented with our good fortune. We saw land the same morning, which proved to be a small island, of moderate elevation, wholly covered with cypress-trees, resembling those we had found on Botany Island. We had soundings at a good distance, in twenty fathom more or less, and about nine o'clock were abreast of it. It seemed to be about two or three miles long, was very steep, almost entirely covered with woods, and to appearance uninhabited. Many aquatic fowls of different species were observed about it, which gave us hopes of making at least a provision of another fresh meal. We hastened to finish our dinner, and went on shore with captain Cook in two boats. Several large broken rocks project into the sea from the island, on all sides. We were fortunate enough to find a little cove so well sheltered by some of these rocks, that our boats lay very safe in it, and were able to land without wetting a foot. A heap of large stones formed a kind of beach, beyond which the shore rose very steep, and in some parts perpendicular. We found a little rill which descended in a cleft between two hills ; and following the course of it,

we

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we penetrated into the woods with great difficulty, through a thick tissue of bindweeds and climbers. However, as soon as we had passed through this outward fence, we found the forest tolerably clear of underwood, and had not the least difficulty to walk forwards. The rocks of this island consisted of the common yellowish clayey stone, which we had found at New Zealand; and in some places we met with small bits of porous reddish lava, which seemed to be decaying, but made us suspect this island to have had a volcano. The vegetables which we found upon it, throve with great luxuriance in a rich stratum of black mould, accumulated during ages past, from decaying trees and plants. The greatest number of species which we met with were well known to us, as belonging to the flora of New Zealand, but they appeared here with all the advantages which a milder climate, and an exuberant soil could give them. The New Zealand flag (*phormium tenax*), shot stalks eight or nine feet high, having flowers much larger and brighter than we had seen at Queen Charlotte's Sound. The productions of New Zealand were here united to those of New Caledonia, and the New Hebrides; for the cypress of the one, and the cabbage palm which we had seen in the latter, flourished here in the greatest perfection. It was chiefly on these two species, that we bestowed our attention; the former supplied the carpenter with several spare booms, and pieces of timber; and the latter

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latter offered us a most welcome and palatable refreshment. We cut down several of them, and took on board the central shoot, or heart, which in taste more resembles an almond than a cabbage. The animal creation, like the vegetable, consisted chiefly of the same species which we found at New Zealand. The parrots and parroquets were infinitely brighter coloured, though evidently of the same species; but the pigeon was exactly the same. We found besides these, a number of small birds, peculiar to this spot, some of which were very beautiful. On the beach we found several succulent plants, such as a species of *tetragonia*, and a *mesembryanthemum*, of which we gathered a quantity to boil in our soups. The melody of the birds was very pleasing in this little deserted spot, which if it had been of a greater size, would have been unexceptionable for an European settlement. We put off from it late in the evening, and when we arrived on board, we greatly regretted that we had not thought of leaving a hog of each sex, which would doubtless have propagated undisturbed, and in the space of a few years stocked the island, so as to become useful to future navigators. Captain Cook gave this pretty little spot, the name of Norfolk Island; it is situated in $29^{\circ} 2' 30''$ S. and $168^{\circ} 16'$ E. Whilst we had examined the woods, some of the boats' crew had been no less busy in catching fish, having been fortunate enough to meet with a pool, where they had come in at high water. The tops of the cabbage-

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bage-palm, these fish, and the birds which we had shot, afforded us an excellent refreshment for a day or two. We passed the S. E. end of the island the next morning, and saw a large single rock off that end. We sounded repeatedly all the forenoon, and found bottom at thirty and forty fathom, to the distance of eight leagues and upwards from the island. The vast number of boobies, and shearwaters, which were continually catching fish about us, by darting down into the sea, indicated that this was a kind of fishing-bank. At one o'clock in the afternoon, we were out of soundings, and advanced with a fresh breeze towards New Zealand, where we could expect to meet with regular refreshments after our tropical cruize, which towards the latter end had greatly weakened the crew, by confining them to a putrid salt-diet, and which had proved particularly fatal to the officers and ourselves, by means of the poisonous fishes that unfortunately fell in our way.

We made such speed, attended by flocks of pintadas, petrels, and albatrosses, that we made the coast of New Zealand on the 17th, early in the morning, after having heavy dews for two nights before, which are commonly reckoned signs of land. The part of New Zealand which we now fell in with, was Mount Egmont, that prodigious peak which forms the north point of Cook's Strait coming from the west. It appeared to be covered with snow and ice nearly from the middle to the summit, of which we had only

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only a glimpse now and then, when the clouds broke which involved it. Its appearance is remarkably majestic, and the neighbouring hills look like dwarfs in comparison. It stands upon, or rather its base gradually flattens into an extensive plain on all sides; and its summit, tapering gradually, terminates in a small point. Its height is supposed to be not much inferior to the peak of Teneriff, from the space which the snow occupies on it.

Tuesday 18.

The breeze, which had hitherto been moderate, now changed into a hard gale, which carried us forward at the rate of eight knots an hour; and we felt the air very sharp and uncomfortable, the thermometer standing at 58° . We now esteemed ourselves happy to be on the west coast of New Zealand, where this gale was favourable, which on the east side would have been furiously against us. The next morning it hurried us past Cape Stephens, Admiralty Bay, and Point Jackson. As soon as we entered Queen Charlotte's Sound, it only blew in intermittent gusts, with the help of which we came safely to an anchor, the third time during this voyage, in Ship Cove, which we had left near eleven months before. The sight of each well-known object, however bleak and savage its appearance, conveyed a pleasing sensation, and the hope of recruiting our wasted spirits and strength, inspired unusual cheerfulness.

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C H A P. IV.

Third and last stay at Queen Charlotte's Sound, in New Zealand.

REPEATED showers, and chilling squalls of wind, Tuesday 18,
gave us a rough reception on the wild shores of New Zealand. The season was not yet far advanced in this raw climate, and the withered foliage of the last year, had not made room on many trees for the verdure of spring. After dinner, we went on shore to examine the beach where we had twice before fixed our tents during this voyage, being desirous of seeing what was become of the bottle which contained a letter to captain Furneaux. Before we landed we took notice of a small flock of shags, which had built their nests on some trees hanging over the water; a sign that the cove had not lately been visited by men. Indeed we have reason to suppose that the natives dwell in the interior recesses of the bay during winter, those parts being probably resorted to by the fish at that inhospitable season. After dislodging the shags, and killing some of their young, which, though fledged, were yet too stupid to fly away, we landed, and were presently convinced that an European ship had visited this place after our departure in November last.

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Many trees which we had left standing were cut down with saws and other tools unknown to the natives; the bottle was removed, and other indubitable vestiges of the new visitation remained. The plantations which we had formerly made were almost entirely destroyed, being partly rooted out, and partly stifled by the indigenous weeds, which grew luxuriantly in the soil after it had been turned up. Our sailors dragged a net several times, but to no purpose; however, we were somewhat more successful after our return to the ship, where several fish were caught with the hook and line. Amongst others, a fine sea-bream (*Sparus pagrus*), weighing eleven pounds, was taken, it being one of those species which are to be met with in almost every ocean*. About sunset a cannon was fired, with a view to apprize the natives of our arrival, if any of them happened to be within hearing. It was our interest to have them near us, in order to supply us with fish, which our sailors were not expert enough to catch in any quantity, supposing we could have dispensed with their labours in repairing the rigging, &c.

Wednesd. 19.

At day-break all our people began to warp the ship deeper into the cove, and about nine o'clock they had brought her into a convenient situation very near the shore. We profited by an interval of fair weather, in order to visit

* It is caught on the coasts of England, in the Mediterranean, at the Cape of Good Hope, and in the South Seas.

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the beach, where we once more pitched our tents. The last year's generation of birds, unacquainted with the treacherous arms of Europeans, sat patiently till we came near enough not to run the risk of missing them; and thus we not only recruited our collection, but likewise provided a delicious refreshment. The creepers in particular, and several smaller species, were to the full as grateful to the palate as ortolans; and every land-bird of this part of New Zealand, hawks excepted, would have been relished at the most luxurious tables.

In the afternoon we accompanied captain Cook to Canibal Cove, the next to the northward of our anchoring-place. The shores of this cove we knew to be rich in celery and scurvy-grafs, which it was the captain's constant care to provide for his crew, wherever they were to be had. In our rambles through the woods at this place we found a true cabbage-palm (*areca oleracea*), of the same sort which we had seen at Norfolk Island. Its situation in this high latitude was somewhat surprising, and seems to prove that this species is of a more hardy nature than the rest in the same class. We returned on board with a rich load of greens, very acceptable to all our shipmates, but eyed with peculiar pleasure by all those who had been poisoned, and who hoped, by the use of this wholesome diet, to be restored to health and strength, which they had never enjoyed since that unfortunate event. Another cannon was fired in the

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evening, as no natives had hitherto made their appearance.

Saturday 22.

The next day we experienced dreadful gales, which coming over the bleak and snow-capt alps to the south of us, chilled the air most uncomfortably, and at last brought on heavy rains. The wind abated the day following, but showers and thick fogs continued till the evening. A N. W. wind then springing up, chased the clouds from the mountains, &c. The sun arose in all his splendor the next morning; the choir of feathered songsters was heard on all sides for the first time since our arrival, announcing a mild vernal day, and summoned us into the woods. Many of our officers immediately embraced this opportunity of recreation, and we accompanied captain Cook in a boat, coasting the shores towards Point Jackson, and landing from time to time in the different coves on our way. The afternoon was spent in an excursion to the Hippah-rock, on which we made a fire to allure the natives, being very desirous of their company. We likewise visited the cabbage-garden on Motu-Aro, and found the plants shot into seed, which had been for the greatest part consumed by the birds. In the evening all the sportsmen returned loaded with birds; the different boats' crews had collected fresh supplies of greens, and the rest had caught fish during the fair weather. All these successes contributed to make a kind of general festival in the ship, which the levity of the mariners

mariners rendered the more chearful, as every past discomfort was already forgotten.

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Having waited in vain another day for the appearance of the natives, we resolved to go in quest of them into the southern creeks on the 24th. That morning, however, at day-break, two canoes appeared off the point of Shag Cove with their sails set; but they were no sooner in sight of the ship, than the sail was instantly let down, and the people betook themselves to paddling very fast back again. Their reserve only made us more desirous to have some intercourse with them, as it appeared to be a mark of fear or distrust. Captain Cook set out in his boat with us, and we came into Shag Cove, where we passed some time shooting shags and sea-pies, of which we found great numbers. At last, however, we heard some shouts on the south shore of the cove, and coming towards that part, discerned several natives who had retired to the upper part of the hills, whilst only three or four remained below on a rising, where several huts were concealed in the woods. Here we found their canoes hauled on the beach, and immediately landing, made signs for these people to come to us. They hesitated a little; then one descended, and having joined noses with us, the usual sign of friendship, the rest came down, and those who had ascended the higher parts likewise joined us. They were all dressed in shaggy cloaks, which were old and ragged; their hair hung about their heads in disorder,

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order, and filth and stench announced them even at a distance. We did not remember to have seen above three or four of them at our former stay in this sound ; but having learnt their names, enquired concerning many of their countrymen who were better known to us. They gave us an answer which was infinitely too complex to be intelligible to us ; but we could collect that they spoke of a battle, and mentioned the death of several of the natives. They continued from time to time to ask if we were displeased with them, and seemed to be very apprehensive that our present protestations of friendship were not quite sincere. We suspected from this circumstance, that a fatal misunderstanding had happened between the natives and the crew of some European ship, and we naturally thought of our consort the Adventure. However, far from confirming the natives in their fears, we endeavoured by every method to gain their confidence, in which we succeeded very well, by waving the subject of our discourse, and asking if they had any fish to sell. They ran to their canoes immediately, and clearing away the mats with which they were covered, produced a vast quantity of fish, probably caught the same morning. For a few pieces of Tahitian cloth, a nail, some medals, and a bit of red baize, we bought a sufficient quantity to supply our whole ship's company, and so far gained the confidence of the natives, that they promised to come to the ship the next day. One of them, of a middle
age,

age, who seemed to be the principal man in this small village, told us his name was Peeterré, and shewed himself the friendliest of them all. We parted from them, after admiring their bold spirit, which disdained concealment, at the moment when they were filled with apprehensions that we should take advantage of our superiority of numbers. We were indeed ignorant at that time how much reason they had to dread our resentment, a circumstance which gives still greater lustre to their bravery.

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They were indeed as good as their word, and came to us at sun-rise the next morning, in five canoes, selling a great quantity of fine fish, and thus restoring affluence on our tables. Having parted with their fish, they produced a number of pieces of green nephritic stone, wrought into chissels and various ornaments, which they eagerly exchanged for Tahitian and English cloth, as well as iron ware. Not content with what they could collect on board, some of them went to the beach, where a number of our people were employed in watering, wooding, &c. and where Mr. Wales had once more fixed his observatory. Here they made many acquisitions, and then all went to pass the night on a neighbouring beach. They rose at day-break, and caught abundance of fish, with which they returned to us, continuing to supply us every day in the same manner. Their favourite place of resort was, however, our watering-place; for there they met with several marines, who took
a plea-

Tuesday 25.

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a pleasure in conversing with them, as well as they could, for hours together. It appears this kind of familiar intercourse suited their disposition, for they soon became so intimate as to impart to their new friends a tale, of which the particulars were of the utmost importance to us. They related, that an European vessel had put into the harbour some time ago; but that in a quarrel with the inhabitants, all her people had been killed and eaten. This intelligence alarmed us greatly, as we apprehended that this vessel was most probably the Adventure. The natives were repeatedly questioned, and in every conversation we discovered some additional circumstances, by which the fact was more clearly established. At last, however, observing that our enquiries on this subject were frequently repeated, they resolved to give us no farther information, and by threats stopped short one of their own brethren, who had been prevailed upon to speak once more on the subject. Captain Cook being very desirous of obtaining some certainty concerning the fate of the Adventure, called Peeterré and another native into the cabin, both of whom denied that any harm had been done to the Europeans. We made two pieces of paper, to represent the two ships, and drew the figure of the Sound on a larger piece; then drawing the two ships into the Sound, and out of it again, as often as they had touched at and left it, including our last departure, we stopped a while, and at last proceeded to bring our ship

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ship in again : but the natives interrupted us, and taking up the paper which represented the Adventure, they brought it into the harbour, and drew it out again, counting on their fingers how many moons she had been gone. This circumstance gave us two-fold pleasure, since at the same time that we were persuaded our consort had safely failed from hence, we had room to admire the sagacity of the natives. Still, however, there was something mysterious in the former accounts, which intimated that some Europeans were killed ; and we continued to doubt whether we had rightly understood this part of their conversation, till we received more certain intelligence at our return to the Cape of Good Hope. Here we learnt that our consort had lost a boat with ten men at New Zealand. Some account of this melancholy event will, I hope, not be unwelcome to my readers, as I shall occasionally compare the story of the natives with the reports of our fellow-voyagers. It appears that captain Furneaux, after separating from us, was obliged, on the 9th of November 1773, to put into Tolaga Bay *, on the northern isle of New Zealand, where he lay till the 16th. He then sailed towards Queen Charlotte's Sound, where he arrived on the 30th, a few days after our departure. O-Mai, the native of Raietea, whom he had on board, told me he was the first who found the inscription on the tree, under which our bottle was buried. He pointed it out to the captain, and

* See the chart of New Zealand, in Hawkesworth, vol. II.

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the bottle with the letter was immediately found. In consequence of this, captain Furneaux made all the necessary preparations for the remaining part of his voyage, in as little time as possible. His ship the Adventure was ready to sail, when he sent a boat to Grafs Cove, on the eastern shore of the Sound, in order to gather a load of celery and scurvy-grafs for the crew. Mr. Rowe, the unfortunate youth who had the command of this boat, combined with many liberal sentiments the prejudices of a naval education, which induced him to look upon all the natives of the South Sea with contempt, and to assume that kind of right over them, with which the Spaniards, in more barbarous ages, disposed of the lives of the American Indians. After landing in Grafs Cove, his people began to cut greens, and some in all probability stripped off their cloaths, to perform their task with greater ease; for the accounts which we obtained from the natives at Queen Charlotte's Sound import, that one of their countrymen stole a sailor's jacket; that our people had hereupon immediately begun to fire, and continued to do so till all their ammunition was spent; that the natives had taken this opportunity to rush upon the Europeans, and had killed every one of them. This relation is very reconcileable with the opinion which the late Mr. Rowe always entertained of the New Zealanders, viz. that they would never stand the fire of European musketry. He had before, when at Tolaga Bay, been exceeding desirous of firing upon them,

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them, for having stolen a small keg of brandy from the boat's crew ; but the judicious and humane advice of lieutenant Burney checked his impetuosity. Captain Furneaux finding that his boat did not return the next day, sent Mr. Burney in another boat, well armed, to look after the former. They soon reached the entrance of East Bay, where they observed a canoe containing many natives, who at sight of them paddled away as fast as possible. Our people made after them, but the fear of being taken made the natives jump overboard, and swim to the shore. This behaviour alarmed Mr. Burney, and his apprehensions were but too fully verified when he came up with the canoe. Here they found several mangled limbs of their comrades, and some of their cloaths. After rowing about some time, they came to Grass Cove, towards seven in the evening, where they saw a considerable number of the natives assembled, who seemed prepared to oppose them. The whole hill to the top was covered with crowds of people, as in a fair, and smokes ascended in several places, where they were probably dressing human flesh. Horror chilled the sailors blood in their veins, but the next moment they glowed with the fierce ardour of revenge, and cooler reason was obliged to give way to the powerful impulse. They fired and killed several of the natives, driving them at last, but with great difficulty, from the beach, and destroying a great number

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of canoes, which they found hauled on shore. They then landed, and searched the huts, where they found many other limbs of their friends packed into baskets, and particularly a hand, which they knew to be that of the unfortunate Rowe. Mr. Burney is of opinion, that the boat had been beaten to pieces by the natives, for the sake of the iron, as he only met with some detached parts of it. It is not unlikely that the unhappy people who were thus cut off, did not take sufficient care to keep their boat afloat, but suffered the tide to leave it dry upon the rocks, by which means they made their retreat impracticable afterwards. Captain Furneaux having suffered this heavy loss, more heavy to him, as Mr. Rowe was his relation, set sail from Queen Charlotte Sound on the 22d of December, and passed round Cape Horn, touching at no port, nor seeing any land, till he arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, on the 19th of March 1774; from whence he returned to England, anchoring at Spithead on the 15th of July following, at the time when we were near the New Hebrides in the South Sea.

The New Zealanders have been dangerous enemies to all the nations who have visited them. The first discoverer, Abel Jansan Tasman, a Dutch navigator, lost four of his people, in an anchoring-place, which he named Murderers Bay, and which seems to be the same with captain Cook's Blind Bay. The natives took one of the dead bodies into
the

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the canoe with them, and had therefore doubtless tasted the flesh of an European, so early as the year 1642 *. By killing ten persons of the Adventure's crew, they have been still more pernicious to the English, and by murdering M. Dufresne Marion, with twenty-eight men, they have treated the French more roughly than all the rest. M. Crozet, captain of a fire-ship, in the French navy, happening to be at the Cape of Good Hope, on his way to India, at the time of our return to that settlement, gave us an account of the melancholy fate of his countrymen. He commanded the king's sloop the Mascarin, under M. Marion, and put into the Bay of Islands, on the northern island of New Zealand † in great distress. He was obliged, having lost his masts, to look out for new ones in the woods of this country ; but when he had found trees fit for his purpose, it appeared almost impossible to bring them from the hills to the water side. However, necessity at last obliged them to make a road two or three miles long, through the thickest forests, to the place where he met with the best trees. A party of his people were in the mean while placed on an island in the bay, to fill the casks with water, and another party occasionally went on shore to cut wood for the ship's use. They had lain here thirty-three days.

* See M. Dalrymple's Collection, vol. II. p. 72.

† See vol. I. p. 112, where I have mentioned the discoveries of that voyage, previous to M. Marion's arrival at New Zealand.

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upon the best terms with the natives, who freely offered their women to the sailors, when M. Marion went on shore with several people, to visit the different parties who were at work, without leaving word that he intended to come back to the ship the same day. His first visit to the waterers being performed, he went to the Hippah, or fortification of the natives, where he commonly used to call in his way to the carpenters, who were encamped in the woods with M. Crozet. Here however, it seems he was cut off, with his company, and boat's crew. The next morning, the lieutenant, who commanded on board, not knowing what had happened, sent a party to cut wood within the neck of land, which may be seen in captain Cook's draught of this bay*. A party of the natives waited the opportunity when every one was at work to fall upon the French, and killed them all, except a single sailor who ran over the isthmus, and threw himself into the sea, in order to swim towards the ships, though he was wounded by several spears. He called out at last, and being taken on board, gave the general alarm. M. Crozet's situation in the woods with a small party, was the most critical. A corporal and four marines were immediately dispatched, to acquaint him of his danger, while several boats attended to receive his party, at a place where the sick had been lodged in tents for the recovery of their health. He disposed every

* See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p. 323.

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thing as well as the time would permit, and effected his retreat to the sea-side. Here however, he found a prodigious croud of the natives assembled, drest out in their best habits, with several chiefs at their head. M. Crozet, told the four marines, to be ready in case he found it necessary, to fire at such persons as he should point out. He gave orders to his party to strike the tents of the sick, to embark all their tools and apparatus, and to retire into the boat, whilst he with the soldiers walked up to the chief. This man immediately told him, that M. Marion was killed by another chief whom he named. M. Crozet took up a stake, and forcing it into the ground, just before the feet of the chief, bid him advance no further. The violence of the action startled the savage, whose irresolution M. Crozet observing, insisted on his commanding the croud to sit down, which was accordingly complied with. He now walked up and down before the New Zealanders, till all his men were in the boat; his soldiers were ordered to follow, and himself was the last who embarked. He had scarce put off, when the whole body of New Zealanders rose, began their song of defiance, and threw stones after him; however, by the timely exertion of his people, they all came safe on board. The New Zealanders from this time forward, made several attempts to cut him off. They made an expedition against the watering-party at night, which, but for the vigilance of the French, would have been fatal

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fatal to them; and they likewise attacked the ships in more than a hundred large canoes full of men, who felt the effects of European artillery. At last M. Crozet, seeing it impossible to supply the ships with masts, unless he could drive the natives from this neighbourhood, went to attack their hippah, which was one of the greatest and strongest. He put the carpenters in the front, to cut down the palisadoes, behind which the natives stood in great numbers on the fighting stages, described in captain Cook's former voyage *. His people drove the natives from these stages by keeping up a regular fire, which did some execution. The carpenters could now approach without danger, and in a few moments cut a breach in the fortification. A chief instantly stepped into it with a long spear in his hand. He was shot dead by M. Crozet's marksmen, and presently another occupied his place, stepping on the dead body. He likewise fell a victim to his intrepid courage, and in the same manner eight chiefs successively defended, and bravely fell on this post of honour. The rest seeing their leaders dead, took flight, and the French pursued and killed numbers of them. M. Crozet offered fifty dollars to any person who should take a New Zeelander alive, but this was absolutely impracticable. A soldier seized an old man, and began to drag him towards his captain, but the savage being unarmed, bit into the fleshy part of the French-

* See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p. 342, 344.

man's hand, of which the exquisite pain so enraged him, that he ran the New Zeelander through with the bayonet. M. Crozet found great quantities of dresses, arms, tools, and raw flax in this hippah, together with a prodigious store of dried fish, and roots, which seemed to be intended for winter provision. He completed the repairs in his ship without interruption, after accomplishing this enterprise, and prosecuted his voyage after a stay of sixty-four days in the Bay of Islands.

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The character of the New Zealanders would appear to no great advantage in this transaction with the French, if we supposed that nothing passed previous to the massacre to rouse their indignation. But the whole tenour of their behaviour to Europeans, seems to acquit them of treachery and cruel malevolence. It is therefore greatly to be suspected that they took umbrage at some affront, perhaps unwittingly committed by the strangers, and revenged it with that passionate fury which hurries on the savage into excesses. We had no reason to doubt the veracity of the people at Queen Charlotte's Sound, since they accused their own countrymen of theft; but it plainly appears from these instances, that the rash action of revenging this theft with death, and most probably revenging it indiscriminately on a whole body of natives, must have provoked them to retaliate. Born to live our stated time on this globe, every one who puts a premature period to our existence here,

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offends the laws of the Creator. The passions are wisely implanted in our breast for our preservation ; and revenge, in particular, guards us against the encroachments of others. Savages do not give up the right of retaliating injuries ; but civilized societies confer on certain individuals the power and the duty to revenge their wrongs. Still, even in the most polished countries of Europe, this method of administering justice is not sufficient in all cases. Such is the imperfection of human institutions, that the public avenger of wrongs oft lifts his hand against the sacred rights of the whole community. On that occasion all civil agreements are dissolved, every man assumes his rights, and gives free course to the passions. Even in private life there are occasions where this sacred principle of revenge is of infinite service in the best regulated community. Nothing is more common than oppressions, affronts, and injuries against which the law provides no remedy ; nothing more frequent, than that a set men are powerful enough to wrest the laws to the disadvantage of the wretched and friendless. These instances would be still more numerous, and be carried to the most detestable pitch of tyranny, if this dread did not withhold them, that the injured party may resume that power of redressing his wrongs, which he sees so inadequately exercised by his representative. He that attempts another's property, runs the risk of being killed without a trial by the person whom he robs ; and the fear of the sword

sword or the cane, hath often kept villains within bounds,
who are invulnerable to the attacks of the law.

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Chi fa sua vendetta, oltre che offende

Chi l'offeso ha, da molti si difende.

ARIOSTO.

Being satisfied that the Adventure had safely sailed from Queen Charlotte's Sound, by the signs of Peeterré, we took the opportunity of a fair day to visit the innermost recesses of West Bay, in order to be convinced, if possible, whether there was any probability that the hogs and fowls, brought thither almost a year before, would ever stock these wild woods with numerous breeds. We came to the spot where we had left them, but saw not the least vestiges of their having been on the beach, nor did it appear that any of the natives had visited this remote place; from whence we have some room to hope, that the animals had retreated into the thickest part of the woods. We afterwards found a few families of the natives in an opposite part of the bay, who furnished us with abundance of fish.

Friday 22.

We went to Grass Cove on the 2d of November, having had rainy and stormy weather after our excursion to West Bay. Ignorant of the dreadful tragedy which had there been acted, we landed in all the creeks thereabouts, and advanced far into the country, seeing several paths which led up the hills, but meeting no inhabitants. We shot here about thirty birds, amongst which were a dozen pigeons,

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that frequented this spot on account of a species of fophora-tree, of which they consumed the leaves and seeds. We returned in the evening at eight o'clock, finding a number of natives on board, who had arrived from another part of the bay. These natives sold us no provisions like those who came with Peeterré, but brought dresses, arms, and other curiosities; captain Cook therefore absolutely prohibited all commerce with them. They returned to us again the next morning, but the captain persisted in his resolution of not admitting them, unless they brought us refreshments. Indeed, this manner of proceeding was equally laudable and necessary; it required the utmost exertion of authority, as well as the enforcement of example, to make the stubborn sailor take the least step for the benefit of his own health, as soon as his attention was engaged by the manufactures of the natives. It is surprising to what a pitch the rage of collecting arms and utensils had risen among the crew. During our stay at Queen Charlotte's Sound, several of our people who were sent to make brooms, with the boatswain at their head, robbed the hut of a poor native of several tools, and forced upon him some nails, which they thought an equivalent. Fortunately, the natives found means to complain to captain Cook, and the offenders were justly punished. The crew of the Endeavour were not a whit more equitable or honest; they robbed the wife of Tuborai Tamaide

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Tamaide at Taheitee, and seemed at New Zealand* to think they had a right to the property of the natives. Indeed their character is very uniform, and cannot well be otherwise from their manner of life; and it may be observed, that their own commanders complain of the same inhuman propensity to destroy the poor harmless people of the South Seas, which I have so frequently observed in the course of this voyage †.

The embargo which was laid on the trade was the reason that all the natives left us on the 4th, except a single wretched family, who had not been able to catch fish during the two last days, on account of the stormy weather. We found them at the Indian Cove, feeding on insipid fern-roots, for want of more nutritive food. Each of their huts contained a fire, of which the smoke entirely involved them; however, by lying down close to the ground, they were less incommoded by the smoke than if they had sat upright. Notwithstanding the inconvenience of this situation, there were not wanting several of our shipmates who readily took up with the same lodging, in order to receive the caresses of the filthy female inhabitants. Perhaps it may be imagined that only brutish sailors could have such

* See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p. 103, and 136. We may likewise consult vol. III. p. 659, where an instance of barbarity is recorded, similar to that mentioned in this work, vol. I. p. 282.

† See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p. 365.

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groveling appetites; but the imperious element, on which they are continually tossed about, seems to level all distinctions. Indeed, when people habitually give full course to their unbounded desires, it is not surprising that they gratify one sense at the expence of all the rest. The nations whom we had lately visited in the New Hebrides, and at New Caledonia, having very wisely declined every indecent familiarity with their guests, the most loathsome objects in a New Zeelanders's smoky and nasty hovel, were eagerly addressed.

Saturday 5.

The next day was very fair, after an interval of bad weather; captain Cook therefore chose to make an excursion, to trace the end of the sound, which still remained unknown. We set out in a boat, and advanced a considerable way towards some canoes which were fishing. At sight of us the people in them left their employment, and paddled away; but as our crew rowed very briskly, we soon overtook them, and enquired if they knew a passage out to sea through the extremity of the Sound. They seemed not to understand our question, but offered us some fish, which they had just caught. We purchased a great quantity, and found the natives very friendly in their behaviour, they having been on board the ship a few days before. Receiving no intelligence from them, we rowed a great way higher, and passed an arm of the Sound to the left, and several bays and coves on the right hand. Here
meeting

meeting with another canoe, which came up towards us, we asked the natives concerning the outlet into the sea. They pointed out the left or eastern arm, and told us that the other to the south at last ended in a bay, which was every where surrounded by mountains. Upon their report we steered into the eastern arm, and soon discovered a most spacious bay in it, to the right of which the shores were every where lined with natives. We landed at one of the most populous places, and saluted by the nose the chief and principal people, who stepped forward from the rest. The chief immediately acquainted us that his name was Tringo-Boohee *. He was a little elderly man, but very active, lively and friendly; his face was punctured all over in scrolls, by which he distinguished himself from every one of his countrymen present, who were all much less disfigured by this operation. The women sat in several rows before their huts, and a few of them were known to us, having been on board the ship some days before. They all seemed to be much better situated than the scattered families in the neighbourhood of our cove; their garb was new and neat, and the features of some much less disgusting than we had generally seen. Perhaps this was owing to their faces being clean, without being covered with paint, foot, or other dirt. The number of men increased about us

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* Tringho seems to be a kind of title among them, being affixed to several names of their chiefs.

every

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every minute, as we traded eagerly for fish, which they were equally eager to sell. Our friend Tringho-Bohee, however, seemed to dislike the arrival of so many people, especially as the price of his fish fell, in proportion as the market was better supplied. A great number of them likewise brought their arms and clothes to sell, and most of them went naked, except a small piece of mat girt about the loins, this day being remarkably mild, and the place sheltered from all winds. After staying here about a quarter of an hour, captain Cook reembarked with us, which was the more adviseable, as many of the natives who arrived last, brought their arms, and the whole croud now amounted to two hundred and upwards, a much greater number than we had suspected the sound to contain, or had ever seen assembled together. We had already put off, when a sailor acquainted the captain, that he had bought a bundle of fish from one of the natives, for which he had not paid him. Captain Cook took the last nail which was left, and calling to the native, threw it on the beach at his feet. The savage being offended, or thinking himself attacked, picked up a stone, and threw it into the boat with great force, but luckily without hitting any one of us. We now called to him again, and pointed to the nail which we had thrown towards him. As soon as he had seen, and picked it up, he laughed at his own petulance, and seemed highly pleased with our conduct

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conduct towards him. This circumstance, with a little rashness on our part, might have become very fatal to us, or might at least have involved us in a dangerous quarrel. If we had resented the affront of being pelted with a stone, the whole body would have joined in the cause of their countryman, and we must have fallen an easy prey to their numbers, being at the distance of five or six leagues from the ship, without any hopes of assistance. It was fortunate that we were not acquainted at that time with the wretched fate of Mr. Rowe and his companions ; else the unexpected meeting with such a body of natives, would greatly have alarmed us, especially as it appears probable from their situation, that they acted a principal part in his massacre. When we consider the numerous opportunities which we gave the natives to cut us off, by leaving our boats, walking up hills, landing in their populous settlements, going among them unarmed, and the like ; it becomes every moment clearer to me, that their friendship is always to be trusted, unless it is infringed on our part, and that accordingly they did not cut off the Adventure's people without provocation. It must nevertheless be acknowledged, that we were peculiarly fortunate in our excursions, which Providence always guided in such a manner, that we did not fall unawares into the hands of any families of the natives, with whom we had not concluded a previous treaty of peace.

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The people at this place agreed with those to whom we had spoken in the canoe, that the arm which we had entered communicated with the sea. We continued our route accordingly, and observed after some turnings, that the inlet ran to the northward, at the back of Grays Cove, and East Bay. We found in it many coves and beaches, with greens, and plenty of wild fowl; the water was perfectly smooth, and the mountains formed many romantic prospects, being clothed with fine forests. Having advanced about three leagues from Tringo-Boohee's settlement, which the natives call Ko-Haghee-nooee, we began to see many shags, with a double crest, a species which always builds in the vicinity of the sea. A few moments afterwards we also saw breakers at the farther end of the inlet, which fully confirmed the accounts of the natives. On the left, or at the back of Grays Cove, we saw a *hippah*, built on a high rock which stood in a manner insulated, on a fine spot of level land. The whole fort was surrounded with many tall poles, and appeared to be in very good order. Having left it at some distance, (for it lay in a kind of bay) we saw the outlet into Cook's Strait, and found it a very narrow passage; before it lay many dangerous and lofty rocks, upon which a dreadful surf broke continually. In the passage, or gap itself, we had thirteen fathom of water, and observed a strong tide running past. We had a fair view from hence of the northern island,

island, and of the strait through which we were to pass into the South Sea for the last time. It was about four o'clock when we made this discovery, but having the wind against us, or at least very uncertain, we were obliged to return the same way we came, instead of going round cape Koamaroo, which would have saved us much time. As we knew of such a numerous tribe of natives living in this neighbourhood, we did not venture to stay a night on shore; but passing the Hippah, and Ko-Haghee-nooce, arrived safe on board about ten o'clock at night, having fasted the whole time, and being thoroughly fatigued with our long excursion. The new channel which we had now discovered, is indicated as a bay in captain Cook's map of the Straits, inserted in his former voyage, he being at that time unacquainted with its outlet into the sea.

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The weather was rather dull the next day; however, our friend Peeterré returned with his family to visit us. Captain Cook took him into the cabin, and dressed him in a shirt, stockings, breeches, and coat, as a mark of friendship for his assiduity in supplying us with fish. Peeterré seemed highly delighted with his new dress, and valued himself upon being in favour with us. As he was contented with these presents, he did not venture to beg for any others, but behaved with great moderation. He accompanied us to Long Island, where we passed some time in shooting, and then returned on board to dinner, of which

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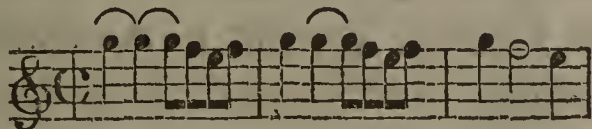
Peeterré partook with peculiar good manners, considering his education. It is scarce to be doubted, that he felt the superiority of our knowledge, of our arts, manufactures, and mode of living, in some degree, especially as he was always remarkably in good spirits when amongst us; but notwithstanding all this, he never once expressed a desire of going with us; and when we proposed it to him, he declined it, preferring the wretched precarious life of his countrymen, to all the advantages of which he saw us possessed. I have already mentioned in another place*, that this way of thinking is common to all savages; and I might have added, that it is not entirely obliterated among polished nations. The force of habit no where appears more strikingly than in such instances, where it seems alone to counterbalance the comforts of a civilized life.

Peeterré returned on shore with his comrades in the evening, but came to sell us fish again the next day. We frequently heard him and the rest of the natives singing on shore, and were sometimes favoured with a song when they visited us on board. Their music is far superior in variety to that of the Society and Friendly Islands; and if any nation of the South Sea comes in competition with them in this respect, I should apprehend it to be that of Tanna. The same intelligent friend who favoured me with a specimen of

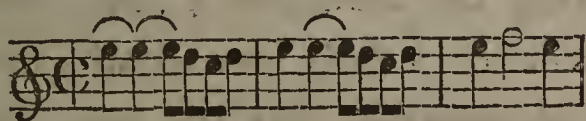
* See p. 53.

the songs at Tonga-Tabboo, (see vol. I. p. 429), has likewise obligingly communicated to me another of the New Zealand music, which will be sufficient to give an idea of the taste of the people. He did not visit the island of Tanna, but assured me that there appeared to be some display of genius in the New Zealand tunes, which soared very far above the wretched humming of the Taheitian, or even the four notes of the people at the Friendly Islands.

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Of this tune they continue to sing the two first bars till the words of their song are at an end, and then they close with the last. Sometimes they also sing an under-part, which is a third lower, except the two last notes, which are unisons.



The same gentleman likewise took notice of a kind of dirge-like melancholy song, relating to the death of Tupaya. This song was chiefly practised by the inhabitants round Tolaga Bay, on the northern island, where the people seem to have had a high regard for that Taheitian. There is an extreme simplicity in the words, though they seem to be metrically

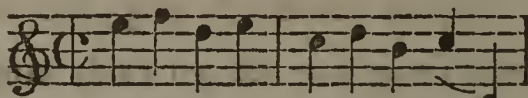
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metrically arranged, in such a manner, as to express the feelings of the mourners, by their slow movement.

āghēe, mātte āwhāy Tūpāyā!

Departed, dead, alas! Tupaya!

The first effusions of grief are not loquacious; the only idea to which we can give utterance is that of our loss, which takes the form of a complaint. Whether the simplicity of the tune is equally agreeable, or well judged, is a question which I cannot pretend to determine. The connoisseurs in music must acquit or condemn the New Zealanders.



A-ghee mat-te a-whay Tu-pa-ya.

They descend at the close from *c* to the octave below in a fall, resembling the sliding of a finger along the finger-board on the violin. I shall now dismiss this subject with the following observation, that the taste for music of the New Zealanders, and their superiority in this respect to other nations in the South Seas, are to me stronger proofs, in favour of their heart, than all the idle eloquence of philosophers in their cabinets can invalidate. They have violent passions; but it would be absurd to assert that these only lead them to inhuman excesses.

We

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We continued to make several excursions along shore, and to the islands in the Sound, till the 9th of November. In this interval we made such additions to our botanical and zoological collections, as could hardly have been expected at so early a season, and after searching the same woods so many times. We collected ten or twelve species of plants, and four or five sorts of birds, which we had not seen before. Our crew assiduously filled all our water-casks, cut a great quantity of wood, repaired the rigging, and fitted the ship once more to encounter the fury of southern gales. The quantity of fish which the natives daily brought for sale, allowed us to salt so many as to fill several casks with them, which served as a sea-stock during our passage to Tierra del Fuego, kept extremely well, and were very palatable to most people. The latter part of our stay was likewise employed in laying in an ample provision of shags, cormorants, and such other birds as we could find, in order that we might prolong as much as possible the term of living on fresh food.

On the 9th, in the afternoon, we unmoored, and rode all night at a single anchor, which we weighed the next morning at four, thus leaving New Zealand a third time in the course of one voyage. As often as we had visited this country, it had abundantly supplied us with refreshments, which were particularly efficacious in restoring our health, and banishing the symptoms of the scurvy.

Not

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Not only well-tasted antiscorbutic plants, but likewise the fish, which are easily digested, seem to me to have been equally salutary restoratives. The keen air which is felt in New Zealand, on the finest days, contributed not a little to brace our fibres, relaxed by a long cruize in warmer climates, and the strong exercise we took was doubtless beneficial in many respects. From hence it happened that we always left that country with new vigour. If we came in ever so pale and emaciated, the good cheer which we enjoyed during our stay, soon rekindled a glow of health on our cheeks, and we returned to the south, like our ship, to all outward appearance, as clean and sound as ever, though in reality somewhat impaired by the many hard rubs of the voyage. Perhaps it may be attributed in part to the healthiness of the air, the simplicity of food, and particularly its easy digestion and great abundance, that the natives have attained a tall stature, are muscular, well proportioned *, and well formed. It appears indeed from many circumstances, that fish are so innumerable on their coasts, as to supply them with constant food, in sufficient quantity throughout the year, especially as M. Crozet and ourselves observed that they had laid up a plentiful share of dried fish for the winter.

* Except their legs, which are ill-shaped, from their mode of sitting.

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C H A P. V.

The course from New Zeeland to Tierra del Fuego.—Stay at Christmas Harbour.

Barbara præruptis inclusa est (insula) faxis :

Horrida, desertis undique vasta locis.

Umbrarum nullo ver est lætabile fœtu,

Nullaque in infausto nascitur herba solo.

SENECA.

WE cleared Cook's Strait on the 10th in the afternoon, Thursday 10. after passing within a few leagues of the new inlet, which we had discovered previous to our departure. We were becalmed all the next day in sight of the land, and did not obtain a breeze till towards evening. On the 12th in the morning we were out of sight of land, and steered away between the south and east, towards Tierra del Fuego. We entered upon this navigation with more cheerfulness, than upon the last southern cruize. We were persuaded that no land lay in our way to retard our progress; the westerly winds, which prevail in these latitudes, were in our favour; and we knew that the hardships of the voyage were drawing to an end. Indeed we looked upon ourselves as already safe from perils, and the hope of revisiting Europe, after many hazardous tracks and narrow escapes,

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escapes, seemed to animate us with new Promethean fire. The run from New Zealand to Tierra del Fuego surpassed our warmest expectations, and, considering the construction of our ship, which was always reckoned a dull sailer, was indeed one of the quickest passages which can be imagined, as we made one day with another upwards of forty leagues. We saw a whale on the 12th, about twelve yards long, with an oblong blunt head, on which were two longitudinal furrows, and as many upright ridges. It had small eyes, two semilunar apertures, from whence it occasionally spouted the water, and was mottled all over with white spots. It had two large fins behind the head, but none on the back. This extraordinary creature seems to have been intirely unknown before.

We had sprung a leak on going out of Queen Charlotte's Sound, which we discovered on the 14th ; but it gave us very little uneasiness, as the water in the pump-well encreased only five inches in eight hours. The westerly winds blew with astonishing violence, and the breadth of the ocean being very considerable, the billows encreased to an immense size, and seemed to be sometimes several hundred yards long. The ship rolled very disagreeably when the wind was quite aft ; and though it has been supposed that a ship's inclination in the greatest roll never exceeds twenty degrees, we have observed it inclined above thirty, and several times even to forty degrees.

During

During this run we saw birds of the albatross, petrel, and penguin kinds, almost every day, and especially at equal distances from New Zealand and America, which are about fifteen hundred leagues asunder. On the 27th of November we made a greater run than ever was made in our ship before, which consisted of 184 miles by the log.

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On the 2d of December, after a short calm, we had a fresh breeze, which continued to blow without intermission, but with different degrees of velocity, till the 18th, when we made the land, a little after midnight, near Cape Desado, on one of the westernmost islands of Tierra del Fuego. The fish which we had salted at New Zealand had lasted during the whole run, and we had found great benefit from living upon them preferably to salt beef and pork, which was now so universally loathed, that captain Cook himself declared he should probably never eat it again with any degree of satisfaction. The four-kraut had been constantly used in the mean while, and the wort had been taken as a preservative by many persons in the ship. The former was still as good as ever, but the malt was much damaged, and had lost part of its efficacy, by having been put up in green unseasoned casks. I drank plentifully of it, but was notwithstanding afflicted with considerable swellings in the legs, attended with pains, which returned from time to time.

DECEMBER.

Sunday 18.

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The part of the world which was now in sight had a very unfavourable aspect. About three o'clock in the morning we ran along it, and found it for the greatest part hid in a thick haze. The parts near us seemed to be small islands, which though not very high, were however very black, and almost entirely barren. Beyond them we saw some broken high lands, which were covered with snow, almost to the water's edge. Great flocks of shags, shearwaters, skuas, and other water-fowl, in some measure made amends for the desolate appearance of the coast, as they gave us great hopes that we should meet with refreshments, if we could find a harbour. Few countries that we touched at are so wretchedly destitute, as not to have afforded us some supply of food, either animal or vegetable, by the assistance of which we made shift to keep ourselves free from a high degree of the scurvy and other distempers.

In the afternoon we passed the island, upon which Cape Noir is situated, mentioned by M. Frezier. The view which he gives of the land corresponded very well with what we saw; and to the N. E. there appeared to be a long inlet, which is doubtless the channel of St. Barbara. In the Spanish charts this extremity of Tierra del Fuego has long since been very accurately laid down as divided into many islands and channels, which have been explored, and each in particular named, by their early navigators. One
of

of the best charts of this kind accompanies the Spanish translation of the anonymous account of Mr. Byron's Voyage round the World, by Dr. Casimir Gomez Ortega. Agreeably to their discoveries, we found many separate islands, from the place where we made the coast to Cape Noir, and should perhaps have seen many more, if the weather had not been very hazy.

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We found the land to all appearance much more compact after passing Cape Noir; and the next morning in particular, the coast seemed to be entirely connected; the mountains rose to a much greater height, immediately from the sea-side, and were covered with snow in every part. The wind gradually lessened, and towards noon we were entirely becalmed, having the finest sun-shine, and mild weather. Many flocks of water-birds appeared about us from time to time, and several seals also sported in the water. In the afternoon about thirty grampusses were seen playing about us, chiefly swimming in couples. Another calm succeeded again the next day, though we had had an easterly wind during a part of the preceding afternoon. It was very amusing to us, to meet with mild weather in the neighbourhood of that tempestuous cape, of which the name alone has affrighted the mariners, ever since lord Anson's voyage. The destruction of vulgar prejudices is of so much service to science, and to mankind in general, that it cannot fail of giving pleasure, to every one sensible:

Monday 19.

Tuesday 20.

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fenfible of its benefits. We had this day the thermometer at 48° which, confidering the neighbourhood of the huge heaps of fnow on fhore, was very moderate. This part of the world has been called the Coaft of Defolation by the navigators who firft vifited it, and feems fully to deferve the appellation. Here we difcerned nothing but vaft mountains, of which the fpiry fummits were every where covered with eternal fnow. Along the fea, the neareft rocks were clear of fnow, but black, and deftitute of graffes or fhrubbery. Some inlets appeared in different parts, where a few iflands feemed to have a covering of green. We flood in to one of thefe in the evening, having then obtained an eafterly breeze. A huge perpendicular wall of rock formed its western entrance, and captain Cook called it the York Minfter, having difcovered a ftrong refemblance between that Gothic building, and this dreary chaotic rock. It lies in $55^{\circ} 30' S.$ and $70^{\circ} 28' W.$ Along the coaft we found regular foundings, but in the mouth of the inlet, we could not reach the bottom with one hundred and fifty fathom of line. This circumftance had already happened to us before at Dufky Bay (vol. I. p. 123); but as we faw a very fpacious found before us, we ventured to ftand on, amidft different rude iflands, on which the fummits of hills were fometimes capt with fnow. A boat was hoifted out, in which my father accompanied fome of the lieutenants, who endeavoured to fhoot birds, but brought only one

one on board. After being much retarded by calms, we arrived about nine o'clock in a small cove, indifferently sheltered either from wind or sea, but a welcome place of refuge on account of the approach of night. Here, then we dropped the anchor, which had been aweigh only forty-one days, during which we had crossed the South Sea in its full extent, from New Zealand to Cape Desgado.

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The next morning captain Cook, accompanied by several officers, as well as my father, Dr. Sparrman, and myself, went in a boat in quest of a more safe and convenient anchorage. We only rowed round a single point of the island under which our ship lay, and immediately found a fine cove sheltered from all winds, and perfectly land-locked, with a little rill of water, and a shrubbery. The weather was mild considering the climate, and several birds were heard on the shore. We found many little clefts, which cannot properly be called vallies, where a few shrubs of different species, sprung up in a thin layer of swampy soil, being defended against the violence of storms, and exposed to the genial influence of reverberated sun-beams. The rock of which the whole island consisted, is a coarse granite, composed of feld-spath, quartz, and black mica or glimmer. This rock is in most places entirely naked, without the smallest vegetable particle; but wherever the rains, or melted snows have washed together some little rubbish, and other particles in decay, it is covered with a coating of minute plants,

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plants, in growth like mosses, which forming a kind of turf, about an inch or more in thickness, very easily slip away under the foot, having no firm hold on the rock. In sheltered places a few other plants thrive among these mossy species, and these at last form a sufficient quantity of soil, for the nutriment of shrubs, especially in such spots as I have mentioned before. Among them we immediately found the species, the bark of which captain Winter discovered to be an excellent aromatic, known in the shops by the name of Winter's bark, but frequently, till of late, confounded with a very different plant, the *canella alba*, of Jamaica. This Winter's bark-tree grows on the shores of the straits of Magalhaens, and on the eastern parts of Tierra del Fuego, to a stately size; but in this barren part we never saw it under any other form than that of a shrub, about ten feet high, crooked and shapeless. Barren as these rocks appeared, yet almost every plant which we gathered on them was new to us, and some species were remarkable for the beauty of their flowers, or their smell. A new species of geese, a sort of shags, the black oyster-catchers, or sea-pies, and several other birds dwelt along the shores, which were lined with immense floating beds of rockweeds. At our return, all our people began to remove the ship into her new situation, where she was moored in the afternoon. A few small fish, of a new species of cod, were caught among
the

the weeds ; but in general every attempt to supply the table by fishing proved unsuccessful.

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Early the next morning, captain Cook set out to take bearings in the sound, and we took that opportunity of examining its natural productions. The sound is very spacious, and surrounded to the north and east by several ranges of high mountains, which seem covered with permanent snow and ice. In the bay itself are several islands of considerable elevation, though not equal to the height of the main land, of which only the highest have some snow on their very summits. That under which our ship lay at anchor, was free from snow, though it seemed to be at least two hundred yards perpendicular in height. Besides these high islands, we observed several, from ten to twenty yards high, which lay in the northern part of the sound, and appeared to be almost covered with verdure at a distance. We directed our course to one of these, about three miles off, of which the mosses and shrubs, upon nearer examination, seemed to have been burnt in several places. The rock was here a kind of yellowish slate, which lay in horizontal strata, covered with a much thicker stratum of soil, than we had seen on the other island. Among the plants which grew on it, we picked up some new ones, and on its shores met with a new sort of fly-catcher, which lived upon shell-fish and worms, and seemed for that purpose to be furnished with a much stronger bill, than the birds of

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that genus commonly have. Rowing round one end of this island, we observed a shrubbery, or little grove on a point of land, in the shade of which stood several empty huts. They resembled in shape that which is described and drawn in the Endeavour's voyage *, with this difference, that they were not covered with seals-skins, which are perhaps put on occasionally, and deemed too valuable to be left behind. They were only skeletons of huts, consisting of boughs of trees, which for the greatest part had fresh green foliage on them; a sign that the natives had but lately made them. On entering this sound, and taking notice of its dreary, desolate appearance, we had supposed that the natives of Tierra del Fuego, never touch upon this inhospitable part, but confine themselves to the neighbourhood of the Straits of Magalhaens, and to the eastern side of Tierra del Fuego; but it seems that human nature is capable of withstanding the greatest inclemencies of weather, and of supporting its existence alike in the burning sands of Africa, and in the frozen extremities of the globe. We landed on several other islands, from whence we had a most extensive view across the sound, which looked wild and horrid in its wintery dress. This was however, the first summer month of these regions; most of the plants we saw were in flower, and the birds were every where bringing up their young. From thence we may easily form an

* See Hawkesworth, vol. II.

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adequate idea of the torpid state of these regions, where the sun-beams cannot melt the snow, at a season when their influence is the strongest. The farther we advanced from the sea, the more snow appeared on the mountains. In some places we saw cascades, and streams gushing down over the snow, especially where the rays of the sun took effect by being frequently reflected. We found a most beautiful cove on this coast, which formed a circular basin, where the water was smooth and transparent as a mirror. All the lower parts were fringed with trees, which we had no where seen so tall in the neighbourhood, and many streams rushed down with great impetuosity between their roots, making a most convenient watering-place. A prodigious number of small birds sat on every branch, and twittered around us in the sun-shine. They were of many different species, but unacquainted with men, hopped so near us, that it was impossible to shoot them, especially as we had now no other than coarse shot left, and that in very small quantity. Abundance of mosses, ferns, and climbers grew up between the trees, and were no small impediment to us in walking. Various flowers enlivened these woods, and increased our collection with new species. Here then there was the appearance of summer; but if we looked up to the monstrous cloud-capt mountains which formed almost perpendicular walls on all sides of the harbour, and beheld them covered with snow and ice, which had some-

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times a blue, and sometimes a yellowish tinge, we thought ourselves transported to the Glaciers of Switzerland, where the seasons seem likewise to be lost, and confounded in each other. The height of these mountains was very considerable, though not equal to the Alps, and their summits were divided into many sharp and craggy points, between which the interval was filled with snow. We landed here, and walked along the shore to another port, formed by a number of low islands, which entirely sheltered it from all winds. Here we met with several species of wild ducks, and particularly one of the size of a goose, which ran along the surface of the sea with amazing velocity, beating the water with its wings and feet.

——fugit illa per undas

Ocyor et jaculo, et ventos æquante sagittâ.

VIRGIL.

Indeed its motion was so quick, that we saw it was in vain to attempt to shoot at it; a more favourable opportunity was therefore eagerly wished for. In the sequel we really obtained several specimens of this curious bird, which resembled a duck, except in the size, and in the extreme shortness of its wings. It had a grey plumage, with a few white quill-feathers; a yellow bill and feet, and two large, naked, callous knobs of the same colour, upon the joint of each wing, at the *alula*. Our sailors called it a race-horse, from its vast swiftness; but in the

Falkland

Falkland Islands, the English have given it the name of loggerhead-duck *. Besides this species, we found numbers of the great gull or skua, which had their nests among some dry grafs on one of the islands. We were fortunate enough to meet with an island entirely covered with the shrubs of a species of arbutus, loaded with red fruit, of the size of small cherries, which were very well tasted, and combined an agreeable tartness with a sweet and a bitter flavour. The rocks of the same island, at the water's edge, were covered with large muscle-shells, of which we found the fish more delicious than oysters. On these two articles, with the help of a few biscuits, and a little piece of salt-beef, we dined luxuriously, amidst the dreary rocks of a country, which at first sight did not seem likely to furnish such an entertainment. To add to our good fortune, we met with several islands in our return, covered with excellent celery, which, though much smaller than that of New Zealand, was much higher flavoured, its juices being probably more concentrated. We loaded our boat with it, and returned late on board, after being overtaken by several smart showers. On our return, we found that the neighbourhood of the ship was very sensibly warmer than the northern parts of the sound, where the air was refrigerated by the abundance of snow on the mountains.

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* See the Philosophical Transactions, vol. LXVI. part 1.

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One of the lieutenants returned the same evening from an excursion to the north-westward, whither he had been sent by captain Cook to take the bearings of the land.

Friday, 23.

The next day was so fine and mild, that several gentlemen walked across the island under which the ship lay at anchor, and shot many little birds in their excursion. Mr. Hodges took a draught of the whole sound from the height, which has a most picturesque appearance in that point of view. It has been engraved for captain Cook's account of this voyage; and the print is remarkable for the figure of a falcon in the fore-ground, which, from its supernatural size, seems to resemble the rukh, celebrated in the Arabian Tales, more than any bird of less fanciful dimensions. We met with a most beautiful species of hawk on Tierra del Fuego, about the size of the falcon-gentil, brown, with a black crest, and the neck and shoulders barred with a grey and chocolate colour; the figure above mentioned may perhaps be meant for this species.

We accompanied the captain this morning on an excursion round the island under which the ship lay at anchor, whilst he sent lieutenant Pickersgill to explore another part of the bay. The trouble of this day we thought well rewarded by a great number of shags which we shot among the rocks, where they had built their nests by thousands. The power of instinct had commonly impelled them to choose for this purpose such places where the rocks project over the
sea,

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sea, or where at least they rise perpendicular; that in case their young should happen to fall out, they might take no hurt by dropping only in the water. The slate of which the rock consisted in this part was not very hard; but it is nevertheless very surprising that these birds have found means to make holes in it, or even to enlarge its natural cavities so much, as to make room for their offspring in them. These shags always returned to their nests immediately after we had fired, and flew so heavily, that we found not much difficulty to shoot them on the wing. The French at the Falkland Isles have called these birds *nigauds*, or *ninnies*, on account of their seeming stupidity, which could hardly be taught to shun destruction*. Besides these, we also brought on board three geese which we had shot on this excursion, and which were very remarkable, on account of the difference of colour between the male and female. The gander was somewhat less than a common tame goose, and perfectly white, except the feet, which were yellow, and the bill, which was black. The goose, on the contrary, was black, with white transverse bars, a grey head, some green, and some white quill-feathers. It should seem that nature hath very wisely ordered this disparity; for the female being obliged to lead the young brood, its graver colour does not so easily discover them to

* See Dom Pernetty's Voyage to the Malouines.

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falcons and other birds of prey. I would only hint this as a supposition which requires farther confirmation; perhaps our understanding is much too short-sighted to assign, on such slight grounds, the true ways of Divine Providence in the wonderful works of the creation.

After we had returned on board, lieutenant Pickersgill arrived, who had met with a cove on the eastern shore of the sound, where a prodigious number of geese had taken up their residence. Captain Cook being desirous to procure some kind of refreshment for his people, and to enable them to spend their Christmas-day with cheerfulness, proceeded towards that place the next morning, and sent Mr. Pickersgill thither in another boat by a different route. My father, Dr. Sparrman, myself, and one midshipman, accompanied the captain in the pinnace. We stood out to sea, along an island to the east of the ship, which lay between us and the Goose Cove. It happened very fortunately that we took this course, without which we should probably have made a very unsuccessful excursion. But along the whole southern extremity of the island, extending at least four or five miles, we saw prodigious numbers of geese, which suffered us to come close to them. We perceived that they were, for the greatest part, young birds of the last year's brood, which moulted their feathers in this place, and having lost their quill-feathers, could not fly to any great distance. If we had been apprised of this circumstance at first, we
might

might have taken greater spoils than we did ; however, after toiling till sunset, we had collected no less than sixty-three geese, which enabled us to give a fresh meal to every man on board. The sport of the day was extremely entertaining ; for though the object of our mission was variety, yet our principles were not yet sufficiently sanctified, to refuse a good meal when it was offered *. We found many deep caverns in the rock, which vaulted sometimes thirty yards over our heads ; and the swell being rather moderate, we could often enter into these dark places with the boat, and were always amply rewarded for our trouble by meeting with a number of birds. Several of these caverns were forty or fifty yards in length, and the rocky walls, about their entrance, were commonly the abode of shags, to which we paid no attention at present. The state of which many of these rocks consist had likewise huge chasms and crevices, which commonly proved fatal to the geese, as they could seldom fly over, but fell between them, and were taken up alive by our sailors, to whom this employment was an inexhaustible fund of diversion. It was late in the evening when we arrived on board, where we found lieutenant Pickersgill, who had discovered a small island in his way, almost entirely covered with the eggs of sea-swallows or terns. He brought away about three hundred of them, which were in general very fit to be eaten.

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* See Hawkesworth, vol. III. p. 502.

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Sunday 25.

During our absence some of the natives, in four small canoes, had visited the ship; they were described to us as wretched and poor, but inoffensive, and ready to part with their spears, seal-skins, and the like. We now regretted that we had lost the opportunity of seeing them, but fortunately they returned the next morning, though the weather was rainy. The four canoes in which they came were made of the bark of trees, which could hardly have grown in this sound, on account of their size. Several small sticks are the ribs which distend this bark, and another stick forms the gunwale, over which they have wrapped the extremity of the bark, and sewed it on. A few stones, with a small quantity of earth, are laid in the bottom of each canoe, and on this the natives keep a constant fire. Their paddles are small, and rudely formed, and they work very slowly with them. Each canoe contained from five to eight persons, including children, who, contrary to the custom of all the nations in the South Sea, were very silent in their approach to the ship, and when along side, hardly pronounced any other word than *pefferay*. Those whom M. de Bougainville saw in the Strait of Magelhaens, not far from hence, used the same word, from whence he gave them the general name of Pecherais. We beckoned to them to come into the ship, and some accepted the invitation, though without the least sign of being pleased, and seemingly without the smallest degree of curiosity. Their persons were short, not exceed-

ing.

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ing five feet six inches at most, their heads large, the face broad, the cheek-bones very prominent, and the nose very flat. They had little brown eyes, without life; their hair was black and lank, hanging about their heads in disorder, and besmeared with train-oil. On the chin they had a few straggling short hairs instead of a beard, and from their nose there was a constant discharge of *mucus* into their ugly open mouth. The whole assemblage of their features formed the most loathsome picture of misery and wretchedness to which human nature can possibly be reduced. Mr. Hodges made a most excellent drawing of one of the men, which is extremely characteristic, and the print which Mr. Baire has executed after it, for captain Cook's account of this voyage, is a proof of his consummate skill. The shoulders and chest were broad and bony, but the rest of the figure was so thin and shrivelled, that to have seen it separate, we could not have supposed it belonged to the same person. Their legs were lean and bowed, and their knees disproportionately large. They had no other clothing than a small piece of old seal-skin, which hung from their shoulders to the middle of the back, being fastened round the neck with a string. The rest of their body was perfectly naked, not the least regard being paid to what Europeans would term decency. Their natural colour appeared to be an olive-brown, with a kind of gloss, which has really some resemblance to that of copper; but many

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of them had disguised themselves with streaks of red paint, and sometimes, though seldom, with white ; from whence it should seem evident, that the ideas of ornament are of a more ancient date with mankind, than those of shame and modesty. The women were nearly formed as the men, though somewhat less in stature ; their features were not less uncouth and ugly, and their dress exactly the same. They had only added a small piece of seal-skin, not so large as the palm of the hand, which hung down before, fixed to a string, which was tied about the waist. Round their necks they wore leather strings, on which they had hung a number of shells ; and on their heads they had a kind of bonnet, consisting of a few white quill feathers of geese, which they occasionally placed upright on the head, by that means giving them a resemblance to the French head-dresses of the last century *. There was but a single person among them, who had a small piece of a guanaco's skin sewed on his seal-skin, to lengthen it. The children were perfectly naked, and, like their mothers, huddled about the fire in each canoe, shivering continually with cold, and rarely uttering any other word than *pefferay*, which sometimes sounded like a word of endearment, and sometimes seemed to be the expression of complaint. Those of the men who had come on deck, spoke a few other words, which contained many consonants and gutturals, particularly the // of the

* Fontanges.

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Welch ; and all seemed to lisp very strongly, which contributed to make them wholly unintelligible. They accepted trifles, such as beads, without seeming to value them, but at the same time they also gave away their own arms, or even their ragged seal-skins, without the least concern ; their whole character being the strangest compound of stupidity, indifference, and inactivity. They had no other arms than bows and arrows ; the former were made of a kind of berberry wood, very small and ill-shaped ; and the latter of a different wood, between two and three feet long, feathered at one end, and not pointed. The points are put on occasionally, and they carried them in little seal-skin fatchels, and parted only with a single one, which was a wretched irregular triangle of black slate. Besides these they have fish-gigs, of which the staffs are about ten feet long, of equal thickness, but angular instead of being round, and provided at one end with a sharp bone about a foot long, which has a single barb on one side, and is occasionally tied on. These instruments they employ to take shells from the rocks, according to the accounts of former voyagers *. All those gestures, which the most wretched nation in the South Sea had easily understood, were made to them in vain ; they seemed not to have the most distant idea of teaching us their language, and having probably

* See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p. 56.

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no eager desire of possessing any thing which they saw amongst us, they were not solicitous to make themselves intelligible. All those who had made the voyage in the Endeavour agreed, that the people whom they had seen at Success Bay, lived much more comfortably and happily than these wretched outcasts *; and upon comparing my account with the published narrative of that voyage, it will easily appear, that the Pecherais of Success Bay were considerably more civilized (if I may make use of this term) than those who fell under our observation. Their stature was taller; they had contrived buskins, which secured their feet; they appeared to be sensible of the excellence of several European goods, and to set a value upon them; lastly, they were more communicative, and had ideas of ceremony or civility; whereas those we saw, at the same time that they felt the inclemency of the weather, were yet too stupid, too indolent, or too wretchedly destitute of means to guard against it. They seemed totally insensible of the superiority of our situation, and did not once, with a single gesture, express their admiration of the ship, and its many great and remarkable objects. I cannot figure to myself a more unhappy human being, than one who seems to be so far deprived of reason, as not to defend himself against the injuries of weather, whilst he severely feels its effects; and

* See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p. 54.

who

who is incapable of combining ideas, and comparing his own necessitous situation with that of others more happy than himself. If ever the pre-eminence of a civilized life over that of the savage could have been reasonably disputed, we might, from the bare contemplation of these miserable people, draw the most striking conclusions in favour of our superior happiness. Till it can be proved, that a man in continual pain, from the rigour of climate, is happy, I shall not give credit to the eloquence of philosophers, who have either had no opportunity of contemplating human nature under all its modifications, or who have not felt what they have seen *. It were to be wished, that the consciousness of those great advantages which heaven hath bestowed on us, in preference to so many of our rational fellow-creatures, might tend to the general reformation of morals amongst us ; instead of which, our civilized communities are stained with vices and enormities, unknown to the wretch, who, compared with ourselves, is next to a brute, being destitute of that superior knowledge,

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* The ill-natured system of philosophy which these men support, is only copied from Seneca, who made light of the distresses of others, being himself in affluence. The following passage is very applicable to the poor Pecherats, and the reflection at the end is one of those I allude to. *Perpetua illos hiems, triste cælum premit ;—imbrem culmo aut fronde defendunt ; nulla illis domicilia, nullæ sedes sunt, nisi quas lassitudo in diem posuit.—In alimentis feras captant,—vilis, & hic quærendus manu victus.—Miseri tibi videntur ?—Nihil miserum est quod in naturam consuetudo perduxit.—Hoc quod tibi calamitas videtur, tot gentium vita est.—Seneca de Providentiâ.. See also Hawkesworth, vol. II. p. 59.*

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of which, to our shame be it spoken, we do not always make the best uses.

These wretched natives of a most dreary country, fed on pieces of seal's-flesh, which being very putrid, were become highly offensive. They relished the fat oily part, which we would reject at all times, and offered some of it to our sailors. It should seem that they prefer this vile blubber by instinct, as all nations in high latitudes are fond of it, and are said, in some measure to season their bodies against the cold by this diet. The natural consequence of it was an insupportable rank stench, which exhaled from their whole body, and which their flesh, their dresses, arms, ornaments, and utensils seemed to have thoroughly imbibed. This odour was so completely nauseous, that we could not continue long in their company, and with our eyes shut, could smell them at a considerable distance. It almost surpasses belief, but is nevertheless an undeniable fact, that our boldest and roughest sailors were so totally overcome by this horrid exhalation, that they did not offer to contract any intimate acquaintance with the women. Our people offered them salt provisions, and rotten biscuit, but they set no manner of value on this food, and could hardly be persuaded to taste of it. Did their instinct perhaps teach them that it was more unwholesome than their own rotten seal's-flesh?—We did not observe any kind of subordination among these people, whose mode of life approaches nearer

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to that of brutes, than that of any other nation. It is indeed very probable, that they are the miserable out-casts of some neighbouring tribe, which enjoys a more comfortable life; and that being reduced to live in this dreary inhospitable part of Tierra del Fuego, they have gradually lost every idea, but those which their most urgent wants give rise to. They ramble perhaps in quest of food, from one inlet or bay into another, as we have reason to suppose this found communicates with others, and take up their winter residence in the least uncomfortable spot of this horrid country. I am indeed of opinion that the rigour of the winter, is not proportionate to the cold during summer, particularly as the thermometrical observations made in the Falkland Islands, (see vol. I. p. 499.) which are not far from Tierra del Fuego, and nearly in the same latitude, strongly confirm this supposition. But allowing the winters to be as mild as possible, still however they must prove dreadfully distressing to these poor destitute wretches, who have not sagacity enough to guard against them. We are told by the Dutch navigators, especially admiral Jacques l'Hermite, who conducted the Nassau fleet into the South Sea in 1624, that the natives on the southern extremity of Tierra del Fuego are cannibals, and kill each other in order to regale themselves *. If there be any likelihood that want of food has

* See Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi à l'Etablissement de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales. Amsterd. 1705, vol. IV. p. 702.

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ever suggested this horrid practice, I should admit that it was possible, among a small number of unhappy individuals, driven from more convenient seats to these barren extremities of the world; and in that case it must likewise be allowed, that such a tribe cannot long continue in being.

Monday 26.

The poor Pecherais embarked in their canoes again about noon, and slowly and silently paddled away, in the same manner as they came. Our sailors well pleased to see their ship safe at anchor, had already begun their holiday the evening before, and continued to carouse during two days without intermission, till captain Cook ordered the greatest part of them to be packed into a boat, and put ashore, to recover from their drunkenness in the fresh air.

Tuesday 27.

On the 27th in the morning, some of the people being tolerably sober, captain Cook manned a boat, and went with my father, and Dr. Sparrman, to the same island where we had been so successful on the 24th. He brought on board in the evening some geese and other fowls, which were roasted, and preserved as a kind of sea-stock. In his absence the natives came on board again, but made a very short stay, as nobody took any notice of them on account of their insufferable stench. The word *pefferay* which they repeated from time to time, was pronounced in such a piteous tone, that we sometimes believed the natives were begging; but upon looking at them, we discovered no change

change of countenance; nothing but that vacant stare which is the characteristic of the most consummate stupidity.

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Having completed our provision of wood and water, and brought the tents on board, which had been erected on shore, we sailed the 28th in the morning, at eight o'clock, on our way towards Cape Horn. The refreshments which we had obtained in this sound, which was named Christmas Sound, and its convenient situation for ships coming into, or going out of the South Sea, make it a very fit place of resort. It contains many excellent harbours, and has wood enough for fuel, though little or none for the carpenter's use; its water is very pure, and well-tasted, and the air though keen, is yet very salubrious. Whilst we lay in this sound, one of the marines was unfortunately drowned. He was not missed till two days after, when an enquiry being made, it was discovered, that being much intoxicated he had gone down into the head, where he had probably slipped overboard. It was the same person who had before escaped drowning off the Isle of Irromanga, and who afterwards shot a native of Tanna. This was the fourth and last man we lost in the course of our whole voyage.

Wednesd. 28.

In the afternoon we passed the island of St. Ildefonso, probably so called by Spanish navigators; after which we steered to the eastward whilst it was light, and tacked till

Thursday 29.

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the day broke. At six in the morning we passed Cape Horn, which is a large black rock, at the extremity of an island, lying before the Nassau inlet, discovered by Jacques l'Hermite *. This famous cape has hitherto been ill placed in the charts, but the two voyages of captain Cook round it, have fixed its situation exactly at $55^{\circ} 58'$ S. and $67^{\circ} 46'$ W. After taking our leave of the South Sea, we steered for Le Maire's Strait, between Tierra del Fuego, and Staten Island. Towards evening, we came near enough to observe, that this side of Tierra del Fuego had a much milder aspect, than that about Christmas Sound. Here the land sloped down from the hills into long level points, covered with tall forests; and no snow was to be seen, except on the distant western mountains. We entered the strait the next morning, but were becalmed in it almost the whole day. Success Bay lay open to our eyes, and the country about it looked so rich and fertile, that we heartily wished to make some stay there.

About two o'clock in the afternoon, whilst we were at dinner, captain Cook dispatched a boat to the shore, in order to examine whether the Adventure had touched there, and to leave some account of our passing the strait. The ship in the mean while stood on with faint breezes towards the

* See Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi à l'Établissement, &c. vol. IV. p. 696.

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side of Tierra del Fuego, in order to take up the boat on its return. A number of large whales, not less than thirty, and some hundreds of seals, played in the water about us. The whales went chiefly in couples; from whence we supposed this to be the season when the sexes meet. Whenever they spouted up the water, or, as the sailors term it, were seen blowing to windward, the whole ship was infested with a most detestable, rank, and poisonous stench, which went off in the space of two or three minutes. Sometimes these huge animals lay on their backs, and with their long pectoral fins beat the surface of the sea, which always caused a great noise, equal to the explosion of a swivel. This kind of play has doubtless given rise to the mariner's story of a fight between the thrasher and whale, of which the former is said to leap out of the water, in order to fall heavily on the latter. Here we had an opportunity of observing the same exercise many times repeated, and discerned that all the belly and under side of the fins and tail are of a white colour, whereas the rest is black. As we happened to be only sixty yards from one of these animals, we perceived a number of longitudinal furrows, or wrinkles, on its belly, from whence we concluded it was the species by Linnæus named *balæna boops*. Besides flapping their fins in the water, these unwieldy animals, of forty feet in length, and not less than ten feet in diameter, sometimes fairly leaped into the air, and dropped down again with a heavy fall, which

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which made the water foam all round them. The prodigious quantity of power required to raise such a vast creature out of the water is astonishing; and their peculiar oeconomy cannot but give room to many reflections.

The boat which the captain had sent to Success Bay returned about six o'clock in the evening. The lieutenant acquainted us that his boat had been followed into the bay by many seals, and some whales, upon one of which the boat narrowly escaped striking. He had not found the least sign at the watering-place of any European ship having lately passed this way; but on landing, several natives met him well dressed in guanacoe-skins, and large cloaks of seal-skins, with a much more chearful and happy countenance, than the poor tribe whom we had left at Christmas Sound. They had bracelets of reed, with silver-wire wrapped about it, to which they often pointed, pronouncing the word *passeray*, and seeming to set no value on any thing our people had to offer. It was concluded that they had received these ornaments from the Spaniards, either by means of ships which had touched at this bay, or indirectly through the hands of other tribes to the north of the strait of Magelhaens. After staying on shore two or three minutes, our people re-embarked, and came on board. We continued our course through the Strait of Le Maire, and the next morning ran along the shore of Staten Land, which was wrapped in thick fogs. Later in the day the fog cleared
a little

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a little away, and gave us a view of the land, which consisted of mountains, to the full as craggy and barren as those of the west coast of Tierra del Fuego, though not so high, and therefore less covered with snow. Several islands, about thirty yards perpendicular in height, lay off this coast, and seemed entirely covered with grass at the top. Great numbers of seals were seen about them; and as captain Cook was in want of oil, he thought he should have the best opportunity of providing himself with this article, by coming to an anchor somewhere in the neighbourhood. These islands were seen by father Feuillée, who has given a map of them in his Voyage to Peru, which we found to be very erroneous. After turning round them, we perceived a snug harbour on Staten Land, but captain Cook did not choose to put in there, because he was of opinion he might be detained in it by contrary winds. He therefore preferred anchoring under the lee of one of the low islands; and as the 31st of December ended at noon, according to the nautical reckoning, he gave these islands the name of New-Year's Islands, and the harbour on Staten Land, that of New-Year's Harbour.

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C H A P. VI.

*Stay at the New Year's Islands.—Discovery of lands to the southward,
—Return to the Cape of Good Hope.*

Saturday 31.

OUR boats were hoisted out immediately after dinner, and we went in them to the island, which was above a mile off. The rocks along shore were covered with a multitude of seals, amongst which the largest had a long shaggy mane, and therefore deserved to be called sea-lions with much greater propriety, than those smooth animals to which Lord Anson gave that name at Juan Fernandez. Indeed many former navigators have also given them that name, though their writings are little read at present*.

* Francis Pretty, in Hackluyt, III. speaks of our sea-lions, p. 805. "These seales are of a wonderfull great bignesse, huge and monstrous of shape, and for the forepart of their bodies cannot be compared to any thing better than to a lion: their head and necke, and foreparts of their bodies, are full of rough haire." Sir Richard Hawkins says something to the same purpose, and adds, that they have whiskers, of which one may make tooth-picks.—See Des Brosses Nav. aux Terres Australes, vol. I. p. 244. Sir John Narborough likewise takes notice of their striking resemblance to lions; and Labbe, in the Lettres des Missionnaires, tom. XV. adds, that the sea-lion only differs from the sea-bear by the long hair about his neck; an observation which is strictly true.—See Des Brosses Nav. aux Terres Australes, vol. II. p. 434.

We

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We put into a little cove under shelter of a few rocks, and fired at some of these fierce animals, most of which immediately threw themselves into the water. Some of the most unwieldy, however, kept their ground, and were killed by our bullets. Several showers interrupted our sport for some time, but the weather clearing up afterwards, we killed with clubs a great number of the fattest sea-lions, which our crew carried on board, in order to boil their blubber into train-oil. The old males were in general very fat, and measured from ten to twelve feet in length; the females were more slender, and from six to eight feet long. The weight of the largest male amounts to 1200 or 1500 lb. for one of a middle size weighed 550 lb. after the skin, entrails, and blubber were taken off. The head of the male has really some resemblance to a lion's head, and the colour is likewise very nearly the same, being only a darker hue of tawny. The long shaggy hair on the neck and throat of the male, beginning at the back of the head, bears a strong resemblance to a mane, and is hard and coarse to the touch; all the rest of the body is covered with short hairs, which lie very close to the skin, and form a smooth glossy coat. The lioness is perfectly smooth all over the body; but both sexes are formed alike with regard to the feet, or rather fins. Those fins which originate near the breast are large flat pieces of a black coriaceous membrane, which have only some small indistinct vestiges of

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nails on their middle. The hinder fins are rather more like feet, being black membranes divided into five long toes, with a thin thong, or membrane, projecting far beyond the nails, which are very small. With these nails however we have seen them scratch all parts of their body. The tail is excessively short, and hid between the hind feet or fins, which grow close together. The whole hind quarters are very round, being covered with an amazing quantity of fat. The noise which all the animals of this kind make together was various, and sometimes stunned our ears. The old males snort and roar like mad bulls or lions; the females bleat exactly like calves, and the young cubs like lambs. Of the young we saw great numbers on the beaches; and one of the females being knocked down with a club, littered in the same instant. The sea-lions live together in numerous herds. The oldest and fattest males lie apart, each having chosen a large stone, which none of the rest dares approach without engaging in a furious battle. We have often seen them seize each other with a degree of rage which is not to be described; and many of them had deep gashes on their backs, which they had received in the wars. The younger active sea-lions, with all the females and the cubs, lie together. They commonly waited the approach of our people; but as soon as some of the herd were killed, the rest took flight with great precipitation, some females carrying off a cub in their mouths, whilst many were

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so terrified as to leave them behind. When left to themselves, they were often seen caressing each other in the most tender manner, and their snouts oft met together, as if they were kissing. The late professor Steller found these animals at Bering's Island, near Kamtchatka, where he was shipwrecked; and his descriptions, the first and best ever drawn up, correspond exactly with our observations. M. Pernetty, in his Voyage to the Falkland Islands, has likewise mentioned them; but his figure, which is very inaccurate, is perfectly in the style of all his other drawings, and corresponds with the truth and accuracy of his writings*. M. de Bougainville, in his Voyage round the World, also speaks of them. They come ashore on these uninhabited spots to breed; they do not, however, feed during their stay on shore, which sometimes lasts several weeks, but grow lean, and swallow a considerable quantity of stones to keep their stomach distended. We were surprised to find the stomachs of many of these animals entirely empty, and of others filled with ten or a dozen round heavy stones, each of the size of two fists†.

* See his Voyage, English edition, p. 240, and tab. 15, fig. 2.

† Beauchefne Gouin, the French navigator, has made the same observation, and adds, "there was some appearance that these stones were already begun to be digested;" though I doubt whether this part of the story will gain credit with his readers.—See Des Brosses Navig. aux Terres Australes, vol. II. p. 114.

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Having made some havock among these creatures, we walked upon the summit of the island, which was nearly level, but covered with innumerable little mounds of earth, on each of which grew a large tuft of grass (*dactylis glomerata*). The intervals between these tufts were very muddy and dirty, which obliged us to leap from one tuft to the other. We soon discovered that another kind of seals occupied this part of the island, and caused the mud by coming wet out of the sea. These were no other than the sea-bears which we had already seen at Dusky Bay, but which were here infinitely more numerous, and grown to a much larger size, equalling that assigned to them by Steller. They are however far inferior to the sea-lions, the males being never above eight or nine feet long, and thick in proportion. Their hair is dark brown, minutely sprinkled with grey, and much longer on the whole body than that of the sea-lion, but does not form a mane. The general outline of the body, and the shape of the fins are exactly the same. They were more fierce towards us, and their females commonly died in defence of their young. Great numbers of a species of vultures, commonly called carrion crows by the sailors (*vultur aura*), were seen upon this island, and probably feed on young seal-cubs, which either die in the birth, or which they take an opportunity to seize upon. Besides them we also found a new species of hawks, and several

several geese of the sort which had so well furnished out our Christmas entertainment. Here we likewise saw a few penguins, of a species which we had not met with before, some large grey petrels of the size of albatrosses, being the same species which the Spaniards name *que-branta-buefños*, or the bone-breakers, and some shags.

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The new year began with a very fair day, though it blew fresh, and the air was sharp. A boat was dispatched to New Year's harbour, to sound and survey it, but as lieutenant Pickersgill had orders not to make any stay on shore, we did not accompany him, choosing rather to take another turn on the new island with captain Cook. The strata of this island, consisted of a yellowish clay-stone, and sometimes of a grey slate, both which were of different degrees of hardness, in different places. We fell in with many herds of sea-bears, and sea-lions, which we did not attack, as another party was sent out upon that errand. We observed however, that these two species, though sometimes encamped on the same beach, always kept at a great distance asunder, and had no communication with each other. A strong rank stench is common to them, as well as to all other seals; a circumstance as well known to the ancients, as their inactivity and drowsiness whilst they lie on shore.

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Sunday 1.

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———Φωκαι νεποδες ———

Ἀθροαι εὐδασιν, πολιῆς ἄλος ἐξαναδυσαι,
Πικρον ἀποπνειςσαι ἄλος πολυθενθεος ὄδμην.

HOMER.

Webfooted seals forsake the whitening waves,
And sleep in herds, exhaling nauseous stench.

Rowing along shore, we fell in with a spot where several thousand shags had built their nests, on those elevated tufts which I have mentioned before. Here was an opportunity to provide the whole ship's company with a fresh meal, which was not neglected. The birds were for the greatest part so tame, as to let our boat's crew come among them with clubs and staves; by which means several hundreds of them were killed. On this day's excursion we found a bird of a new genus, which was of the size of a pigeon, and perfectly white. It belonged to the class of wading water-fowl, its toes were half webbed, and its eyes, as well as the base of the bill, surrounded by many little white glands or warts. It had such an horrid offensive smell, that we could not taste the flesh, though at this time we were not easily disgusted. Captain Cook observed the latitude on the east end of the island, which was a barren rock wholly covered with herds of seals, flocks of gulls, shags, and other animals. We returned to dine on board, and then spent the afternoon upon the island again. We shot there several geese, amongst which was a new species;

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species; and were not less successful among a flock of penguins, than we had been among the shags in the morning. They were of the size of small geese, and of that species which is the most common in the neighbourhood of the Straits of Magelhaens. The English at the Falkland Islands have named them jumping-jacks*. They sleep very sound, for Dr. Sparrman met one of them, which he kicked several yards by accidentally stumbling over it, without breaking its sleep, till by repeatedly shaking the bird, it awoke. When the whole flock was beset, they all became very bold at once, and ran violently at us, biting our legs, or any part of our clothes. They are excessively hard-lived, for having left a great number of them, seemingly dead on the field of battle, and going in the pursuit of the rest, they all at once got up, and walked off with great gravity. The seals and sea-lions were likewise killed with great difficulty, but their snout was by far the most sensible part. Dr. Sparrman, and myself, were near being attacked by one of the oldest sea-bears, on a cliff where several hundreds lay assembled, which all seemed to wait the issue of the fight. The Doctor had discharged his musket at a bird, and was going to pick it up, when this old bear growled and snarled, and seemed ready to oppose him. As soon as I was near enough, I shot the furry creature dead, and at that instant the whole herd, seeing their

* See Phil. Transf. vol. LXVI. part. i.

champion.

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champion fallen, hurried to the sea; and many of them hobbled along with such precipitation, as to leap down ten or fifteen yards perpendicular, upon the pointed rocks on the shore, though without receiving any hurt, which may be attributed to their fat easily giving way, and their hide being remarkably tough.

The chase of these animals afforded great sport to our people; and the many singular circumstances which must strike the observer, in contemplating a species of animals associated into numerous herds, gave us much satisfaction. All these creatures were here in their proper climate; for the seals and sea-lions being loaded with an immense quantity of fat, and the shags and pinguins with a thick plumage, felt no inconvenience from the coolness of the weather. The captain obtained a considerable quantity of blubber, which was put into casks, and afterwards converted into oil; but a disagreeable putrid stench infected the whole ship for several days after leaving these New Year's Isles. In the evening our party returned from New Year's Harbour, on Staten Land, which they had found extremely safe and commodious. They brought with them some gulls, and five large ducks of the short-winged sort, which our sailors called race-horses. Each of these weighed sixteen pounds, but their meat was remarkably fetid, and not fit to be eaten. We spent the second of January in the same manner as the first, still making an acquisition of
some

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some new species of birds, with which this island, notwithstanding its small size, abounded. Among the rest we found a fine sort of grey curlew, with a yellow neck, which was one of the stateliest birds we had ever seen. The vegetable productions of this spot were confined to six or eight species, among which we saw some small shrubs not above three feet high, and a new plant; but the grass above mentioned (*daëtylis glomerata*) occupied almost the whole surface of the island. In the evening we hoisted in all our boats, and the next morning at three o'clock we set sail, and doubled the N. E. end of Staten Land, which is named Cape St. John by father Feuillée. A prodigious strong tide was observed to run past our ship every day whilst we lay at anchor, at the rate of four or five miles an hour. This is, however, so much the less remarkable, as the Straits of Magelhaens and the eastern coast of America, in high southern latitudes, are likewise known to have strong tides. The New Year's Islands, which we now left, are situated in $54^{\circ} 46'$ S. and $64^{\circ} 30'$ W. The largest of them is about six leagues, and that under which we lay at anchor appeared to be between three and four leagues in circuit. They are excellent places of refreshment for a ship's crew bound on expeditions like ours; for though the flesh of sea-lions and penguins is not the most palatable food, yet it is infinitely more salubrious than salt meat; and by searching the different islands, it is not improbable

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that a sufficient quantity of celery and scurvy-grass might be found to supply the whole crew, especially as we saw both the species on our excursions. Our seamen lived several days on young shags and pinguins, of which they found the former extremely palatable, comparing them to young pullets. They likewise roasted several little cubs of seals, but there was a degree of softness in the meat which made it disgusting. The flesh of young but full-grown sea-bears was greatly preferable, and tasted like coarse and bad beef; but that of the old sea-lions and bears was so rank and offensive, that we could not touch it.

Thursday 5.

After ranging the eastern and southern coast of Staten Land, till the afternoon, we took our departure, and steered to the E. S. E. in order to pass our third summer season to the southward. We had strong gales, which carried away a main-top-gallant-mast, and some studding sail-booms; but as the wind was in our favour, these losses were esteemed of little consequence. A *halo* of very great circumference was observed round the sun on the 5th. It inclosed a dark area, but the circle itself was white, with several faint prismatic hues on the edges. This was reckoned a prognostic of storms, but we experienced mild weather for several days afterwards, from whence we may conclude how far such signs are to be relied upon. The latest charts published in England and France, have laid down a great sea-coast between 40° and 53° west, in the latitude of 54° and

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and 58° south, which they found marked in a chart projected by Ortelius, in 1586 *, and in that of Mercator, published so early as the year 1569. It appears to have been discovered by Spanish navigators, as the name of Golfo de San Sebastiano seems to indicate. We passed over that part of the ocean, where the western coast of this gulph is said to be situated, but did not meet with any land. Captain Furneaux likewise the year before, passed across both the eastern and western shores of this gulph, in 60° , and afterwards 58° S. from 60° to 40° W. without seeing land. It appears therefore that either this gulph does not exist, or that it is not rightly laid down in former charts; and the latter is much more probable, since it can hardly be conceived by what means such a discovery could obtain a place in the old charts, without some authority to support it.

On the 6th, at eight in the evening, we changed our course, and stood to the northward, having reached upwards of 58° S. without seeing any ice; though Dr. Halley, in the year 1700, at the same season, found abundance of ice in the latitude of 52° S. A heavy dew fell on the 8th in the evening, which is reckoned an indubitable sign of land; and petrels, albatrosses, and seals had been seen from time to time, ever since we left Staten Land.

* See Mr. Dalrymple's Memoir of a Chart of the Southern Ocean, and the Chart itself, which bear an indisputable testimony of the laudable enthusiasm with which that gentleman has prosecuted his inquiries on this subject.

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Having run into 54° S. we began to steer to the eastward again, in search of the land which was discovered by M. Duclos Guyot, in the Spanish ship *Lion*, which sailed from Callao in Peru, in February 1756, and passed Cape Horn in the depth of Winter *.

Saturday 14.

We continued to stand to the eastward, seeing many birds, and now and then penguins, and sea-weeds, till the 14th, in the morning, when the officer of the watch acquainted the captain that an island of ice was in sight. We continued sailing towards it all day; but in the evening we discovered that what had been taken for ice, was really land, which seemed to be of great height, and covered with snow for the greatest part. By consulting the accounts of M. Guyot, it appears to be certain, that this land is the same of which he saw the south end in June 1756, and which he named *Isle de St. Pierre*. He lays it down in $38^{\circ} 10'$ W. from Greenwich, which agrees entirely with our observations of the north-west extremity, and is only between thirty and forty leagues to the west of the longitude which we assign for the S. E. end †. Notwithstanding this coincidence, many were still of opinion that we only saw

* See a Collection of Voyages, chiefly in the Southern Atlantic Ocean, published by Mr. Dalrymple, 1775. The land seen by Antonio la Roche, in 1675, appears to be the same with this discovered in the *Lion*.

† See the Extract of Mr. Guyot's Journal, published by Mr. Dalrymple in his Collection of Voyages in the Southern Atlantic Ocean, p. 5, and p. 15.

an island of ice; and as the wind was very boisterous the next day, and the weather extremely foggy, the point remained undetermined till the 16th. We had very cold weather all this time, the thermometer being at $34\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, and great falls of snow covering our decks. On the 16th, in the morning, we had sight of the land again, and found its mountains of a vast height, covered with loads of snow and ice, in most places down to the water's edge. The only parts which were clear of snow were a few black and barren cliffs, and particularly some huge hollow rocks, that

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— o'er their wave-worn basis bowed.

SHAKESPEARE.

Towards the south end of this land we saw several low islands, like the New Year's islands, which appeared to have some verdure upon them, and were therefore called the Green Islands. As it had been the main object of our voyage to explore the high southern latitude, my father suggested to captain Cook, that it would be proper to name this land after the monarch who had set on foot our expedition, solely for the improvement of science, and whose name ought therefore to be celebrated in both hemispheres,

— Tua seclūs orbis

Nomina dūcet !

HOR.]

It was accordingly honoured with the name of Southern Georgia, which will give it importance, and continue to spread

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spread a degree of lustre over it, which it cannot derive from its barrenness and dreary appearance.

In the afternoon we saw two rocky islands at the north end of Georgia, which lay about a league asunder, and were of a dull black colour. We steered towards them, and about five o'clock passed in the middle between them. The northernmost was a craggy cliff, nearly perpendicular, which contained the nests of many thousand shags, and was named Willis's Island; it is situated in 54° S. and $38^{\circ} 25'$ W. The southernmost sloped gradually to the westward, being covered on that side with some grass, and with innumerable flocks of birds of all sorts, from the largest albatrosses down to the least petrels, for which reason it was named Bird Island. Great numbers of shags, penguins, divers, and other birds played about, and settled in the water around us, this cold climate seeming to be perfectly agreeable to them. Several porpoises were likewise noticed, and many seals were seen, which probably came to breed on these inhospitable shores.

Tuesday 17.

We ran along the north-east coast of the land till it was dark, when we brought to, and did not resume our course till the next morning at three o'clock. The aspect of the land was extremely unpromising; the mountains were the most craggy we had ever seen, and formed many sharp points, between which the intervals were filled up with snow. We passed a bay, which, from the number of low green

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green islands in it, was named the Bay of Islands, and opened another, towards which we stood with the ship, having soundings at the distance of two or three miles. About nine o'clock a boat was hoisted out, and captain Cook, accompanied by one midshipman, my father, Dr. Sparrman, and myself, went into the bay. We founded in the entrance, but found no bottom with thirty-four fathom. Upon advancing into the furthest recess of the bay, we soon observed a solid mass of ice, such as is found in the harbours of Spitzbergen *, in the northern hemisphere. This mass of ice bore a great resemblance to those detached islands, of which we saw such numbers floating upon the ocean in the high southern latitudes. The shores of the bay, nearer the sea, were clear of snow, but excessively dreary, and almost perpendicular. We landed in a spot which was perfectly sheltered from the swell, and where the land formed a long projecting point. Here we saw a number of seals assembled on a stony beach, and among them a huge animal, which we had taken to be a rock at a distance, but which proved to be exactly the same animal with lord Anson's sea-lion. The midshipman shot it through the head whilst it lay fast asleep, and we afterwards found a younger one of the same sort. It was all over of a dark grey colour, with a slight olive cast, something like the seals in the northern hemi-

* See the Hon. captain Phipp's (now lord Mulgrave's) Voyage towards the North Pole, 1775,

sphere.

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sphere. It likewise resembled these animals in the more perfect shape of its fore feet, and the want of external ears. Its nose projected far beyond the mouth, and had a loose wrinkled skin, which may perhaps be occasionally puffed up when the animal is angry, and will in that case form something like the crest which has been figured in the print accompanying lord Anson's voyage. The animal which we examined was about thirteen feet long, but in proportion, of a more slender make than the sea-lion with a mane, which we saw at Staten Land*. Here we likewise found a flock of about twenty penguins, of a much greater size than any we had hitherto seen; they were thirty-nine inches long, and weighed forty pounds. Their belly was of a most enormous size, and covered with a vast quantity of fat. An oval spot of bright yellow, or lemon colour, appears on each side of the head, and is edged with black, the rest of the body being of a blackish-grey colour on the whole back, and upper-side, and white on the belly, under the fins, and all the fore-part. These birds were so dull, as hardly to waddle from us; we easily overtook them by running, and knocked them down with sticks. When we returned on board, we found that they were mentioned by that great zoologist Mr. Pennant, in

* This animal, or Anson's sea-lion, (*phoca leonina*, Linn.) seems to be the same which the English, at Falkland Island, have called the clapmatch-seal.—See the Philos. Transact, vol. LXVI. part i.

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the Phil. Transf. by the name of Patagonian pinguins, and we likewise suppose them to be the same species which the English at the Falkland Islands, have named yellow, or king pinguins*. The seals which we found here, were more fierce, than any we had seen on the New Year's Isles, and did not run out of our way. The youngest cubs barked at us, and ran after our heels when we passed by them, trying to bite our legs. They were all of the species which I have before named sea-bears, (*ursine seals*, Penn.) and not a single sea-lion with a mane, was to be seen among them. We climbed upon a little hummock, about eight yards high, where we found two species of plants; one was the grass which grows plentifully on the New Year's Isles (*dactylis glomerata*), and the other a kind of burnet (*sanguisorba*.) Here captain Cook displayed the British flag, and performed the ceremony of taking possession of these barren rocks, "in the name of his Britannic Majesty, and his heirs for ever." A volley of two or three muskets was fired into the air, to give greater weight to this assertion; and the barren rocks re-echoed with the sound, to the utter amazement of the seals and pinguins, the inhabitants of these newly discovered dominions. The rocks consisted of a bluish grey slate, in horizontal strata, of which many fragments every where covered the beaches. As far as

* See the Philosophical Transactions, vol. LXVI. part 1.

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we were able to examine them, they contained no other minerals of any kind; the whole country being useless, and frightfully barren in every respect. We embarked soon after with a load of seals, penguins, and shags, and leaving this bay, which was named Possession Bay, and is situated in $54^{\circ} 15' S.$ and $37^{\circ} 15' W.$ arrived safe on board before noon. During our stay on shore, we saw some small fragments of ice floating out to sea, and heard the huge masses in the farthest part of the bay, crack very loud from time to time. We continued to coast the land during the two following days, and discovered several bays and head-lands upon it, which were successively named Cumberland Bay, Cape George, Royal Bay, Cape Charlotte, and Sandwich Bay. The appearance of the land was always nearly the same; its mountains towards the south were excessively high, and divided into innumerable ragged points, like the flames in a raging fire. Mr. Hodges has drawn a very masterly view of part of this coast, where the horrors and caricatures of nature are faithfully copied, in that great style which is peculiar to him, and which animates all his views of savage countries. The drawings I here mention are engraved, and intended for captain Cook's account of this voyage.

On the 19th we reached the S. E. extremity of Southern Georgia, which we now discovered to be an island, between fifty and sixty leagues in length. A rock which was named

Cooper's.

Cooper's Island, lies off the south end, in $54^{\circ} 52'$ S. and $35^{\circ} 50'$ W. We discovered at the same time, an island to the south-eastward, about fourteen leagues distant, of which we could not yet determine the size.

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We sailed towards it on the 20th in the morning, after having coasted the south end of the Isle of Georgia, till we came in sight of the Green Islands, discovered on the 16th. The weather had for these four days past, been extremely fair, and favourable for the purpose of exploring this land; the winds had likewise been gentle, and the air very mild. We had however, no sooner left the coast, than a strong gale, attended with fogs and rains sprung up, which obliged us to take in all our topails; but it fortunately was of a short duration, for at midnight we were becalmed. The land towards which we sailed, was so much involved in fogs, that our seamen were uncertain of the situation, and continued to tack from time to time, in order to avoid it. The fog continued during the 21st, and 22d, and obliged us to change our course very frequently.

Friday 20.

On the 23d, the same thick weather, being attended with a fresh breeze, we stood boldly on a tack, which all on board were firmly persuaded, would carry us directly from the land. Instead of that, about eleven o'clock, lieutenant Clerke saw the breakers scarce half a mile ahead, and several shags came to meet us, which seldom go to a

Monday 23.

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Wednesd. 25.

greater distance from land. We now discovered that we had very providentially escaped being wrecked on the land, by making the circuit of it without knowing it. We put about instantly after this discovery, and stood off and on all day, as well as the next, because the same kind of thick fog, with frequent intervals of calm weather continued. In the evening however, the fog cleared for a little while, and gave us a fair view, both of the Isle of Georgia, and of the smaller one round which we had failed. We found the latter of an inconsiderable size, and surrounded with other broken rocks; the whole dangerous group was therefore named Clerke's rocks, and lies in 55° S. and $34^{\circ} 50'$ W. Early on the 25th, we directed our course to the eastward, and afterwards somewhat southerly, in order to make another run towards the south before we returned into milder climates.

It has been supposed, that all parts of this globe, including those which are barren and dreary in the highest degree, are fit to become the abode of men. Before we arrived at this Island of Georgia, we had nothing to oppose to this opinion, since even the wintry shores of Tierra del Fuego were inhabited by human beings, who were still one step removed from brutes. But the climate of Tierra del Fuego is mild with respect to that of Georgia, the difference in the thermometer which we observed, being at least ten degrees. It has besides the advantage of producing a
quantity

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quantity of shrubbery and wood, sufficient to supply the wants of the natives, who are by that means enabled to rest sheltered from the inclemencies of the air, and to light fires, which give them warmth, and may serve to make their food eatable and wholesome. As New Georgia is wholly destitute of wood, and of any other combustible to serve as a succedaneum, I apprehend it would be impossible for any race of men to live upon it, though they should, instead of the stupidity of the Pefferais, be possessed of the ingenuity of Europeans. The summers of this new island are rigorously cold, the thermometer having never risen ten degrees above the freezing point, during our stay on the coast ; and though we have reason to suppose, that the winters are not colder in the same proportion as in our hemisphere, yet it is probable there will be at least a difference of twenty or thirty degrees. This I think is sufficient to kill any men who may survive the summer there, supposing them provided with no other defence than that which the country affords. But South Georgia, besides being uninhabitable, does not appear to contain any single article, for which it might be visited occasionally by European ships. Seals, and sea-lions, of which the blubber is accounted an article of commerce, are much more numerous on the desert coasts of South America, the Falkland, and the New Year's Islands, where they may likewise be obtained at a much smaller risk. If the northern ocean should ever be cleared of
whales,

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whales, by our annual fisheries, we might then visit the other hemisphere, where these animals are known to be numerous. However, there seems to be little necessity to advance so far south as New Georgia in quest of them, since the Portuguese, and the North Americans, have of late years killed numbers of them on the coast of America, going no farther than the Falkland Islands. It should therefore seem probable, that though Southern Georgia may hereafter become important to mankind, that period is at present so far remote, and perhaps will not happen, till Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego are inhabited, and civilised like Scotland and Sweden.

Thursday 26.

We stood to the southward on the 26th, with a fresh breeze, and the horizon tolerably clear, considering the usual weather of these climates, and returned to our wonted but loathed diet of salted meat, having eaten the last penguin which we had killed in Possession Bay; however, the expectation of a speedy arrival at the Cape of Good Hope, in some measure alleviated our sufferings. On the 27th at noon we had passed the latitude of $59\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ S. and saw several fulmars (*procellaria glacialis*) which are commonly the forerunners of ice in high latitudes. Accordingly in the evening, between six and seven, we saw several islands of ice, and a quantity of loose ice. Fogs and wet weather set in this day, which prevented our steering so much to the southward as we had hitherto done. Many great masses
of

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Saturday 28.

of ice furrounded us on all sides the next day, and in the afternoon a large bed of small ice, adjoining to several fields of ice, stopped our farther progress, greatly to the satisfaction of all the crew, who were at present thoroughly tired of this dreadful climate, and exhausted by perpetual watching and attendance, which the frequency and sudden appearance of dangers required. We had this time penetrated only a few minutes beyond 60° S. and gradually steered to the northward, as well as the winds, the thickness of the weather, and the ice would permit. Many of our people were at this time afflicted with severe rheumatic pains and colds, and some were suddenly taken with fainting fits, since their unwholesome, juiceless food could not supply the waste of animal spirits. The thermometer stood at 35° in these high latitudes; and this degree of cold, as well as the continuance of snow-showers and wet fogs, greatly retarded the recovery of our patients. However, as we now steered to the northward, we were in hopes of soon reaching a milder climate, fully persuaded that no farther obstacles lay in wait to try our patience. But we were again doomed to experience disappointment, and discovered another frozen country, which

Lies dark and wild, beat with perpetual storms
Of whirlwind and dire hail; which on firm land
Thaws not, but gathers heap, and ruin seems.
Of ancient pile.

MILTON.

The

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Tuesday 31.

The discovery of this land happened on the 31st of January, at seven in the morning, when the weather was so hazy, that we could not see four or five miles around us. We ran towards it near an hour, when we were within half a mile of the rocks, which were black, cavernous, and perpendicular to a vast height, inhabited by flocks of shags, and beaten by dreadful breakers. Thick clouds veiled the upper parts of the mountains, but one immense peak appeared towering beyond them, covered with snow. It was agreed by all present, that the perpendicular height of this mountain could not be far short of two miles. We founded with 170 fathom close in shore, and then put about, standing to the south, in order to weather the western point, which we had now discovered. We had not run above an hour on this tack, when we saw high mountains to the S. S. E. about five or six leagues distant, which, from the course we had kept, we must have narrowly escaped about midnight. This being the southernmost extremity of the land, my father named it Southern Thule, a name which captain Cook has preserved. It is situated in $59^{\circ} 30'$ S. and $27^{\circ} 30'$ W. At one o'clock in the afternoon we put about, and stood to the northward, beyond the point which we had first seen. This now appeared to be a black rock, separated from a great projecting head-land. The rock was named Freezeland's Head, from a German sailor who first discovered it, and lies in $58^{\circ} 55'$ S. and 27° W. The head-

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head-land, which has since been named Cape Bristol, appeared to be connected with the Southern Thule, by some lands which we saw very far to the eastward, forming a spacious bay. Captain Cook, however, did not venture to lose any time in the investigation of this coast, where he was exposed to imminent danger from the violence of westerly winds. He chose rather to explore its northern extremities, which besides, were doubtless the most likely to be of importance to navigators. We kept at the distance of two or three leagues from the land, having little winds, and seeing the coast every where steep and inaccessible. The mountains appeared to be of vast height, their summits being constantly wrapped in clouds, and the lower part covered with snow down to the water's edge in such a manner, that we should have found it difficult to pronounce whether we saw land or ice, if some hollow rocks had not shewn their black and naked caverns in several places.

FEBRUARY.
Wednesd. 1.

We found ourselves abreast of another projecting point in the morning, which captain Cook has since named Cape Montague, and which seems to be connected with Cape Bristol, a kind of bay lying between them. Beyond it we discovered another point to the north, which upon our nearer approach was found to be a separate island, and named Saunders's Island. It was not inferior in height to the mountainous coast to the south of it, and was covered

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with snow and ice in the same manner. It is situated in $57^{\circ} 48' \text{ S.}$ and $26^{\circ} 35' \text{ W.}$

Thursday 2.

We had little wind during night, but with the return of day-light, stood to the eastward, in order to weather Saunders's Island. On this course we saw two small islands far to the northward of us, which, from the day, were named Candlemas Islands. We could not accomplish our point with a single board, but the wind being contrary, tacked all the afternoon, in order to double the northern extremity of Saunders's Island. We came very near it several times, and observed a flat point or beach running out to the northward, covered with heaps of shingle, which were piled up in the wildest manner, and offered nothing but sharp points and ridges to the eye. The whole country had the most desolate and horrid appearance which can possibly be conceived; not a single grass could be discerned upon it, and it seemed to be forsaken even by the amphibious and lumpish animals which dwelt on Southern Georgia. In short, we could not help applying to it, that remarkable expression of Pliny,

Pars mundi damnata a rerum naturâ, et densâ merâ caligine.

Hist. Nat. lib. xv. c. 36.

The wind permitted us the next day to approach the Candlemas Isles, in order to ascertain their situation, which

which we found to be in $57^{\circ} 10' S.$ and $27^{\circ} 6' W.$ We now steered to the eastward, and lost sight of the southern land, having doubled its northern extremity. Captain Cook at first gave it the general name of Snowland, but afterwards honoured it with that of Sandwich Land. I am inclined to believe that this land has been discovered by those early navigators, who have furnished the geographers with the Gulph of St. Sebastian, and the isle of Creffalina. It remains very doubtful, whether the different projecting points of Thule, Cape Bristol, and Cape Montague, form one connected land, or several distinct islands; and this may probably continue undetermined for ages to come, since an expedition to those inhospitable parts of the world, besides being extremely perilous, does not seem likely to be productive of great advantages to mankind. It was the object of our hazardous voyage to explore the southern hemisphere to the sixtieth degree of latitude, and to ascertain the existence of a southern continent in the temperate zone. Our different tracks have not only rendered it evident, that a continent does not exist in the temperate southern zone, but have likewise made it probable, by advancing into the frigid zone to seventy one degrees south, that the space within the antarctic circle is far from being every where filled up with land. The existence of such a continent has been believed by the most philosophic enquirers of the present age; and this opinion, though now so much invali-

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dated, is nevertheless a proof of their great intelligence, considering the few *data* upon which they could proceed. Without ascertaining whether Sandwich Land is part of a greater tract, it may not be improper to mention, that one of the reasons alledged in favour of a continent, has lately been overthrown by experiments. It has always been supposed that the ice, which is seen floating in immense quantities on the sea, must be formed on shore from snow or fresh water; but it has now been proved that sea-water will freeze, and that the ice which is thus formed does not contain any particles of salt, except where it comes in contact with the water, which introduces itself into its pores and interstices *.

The barrenness of Sandwich Land, the gradual encrease of the nights, and the approach of a more rigorous season in these high latitudes, added to the consideration that we had a long run to make before we arrived at another place of refreshment, and that our provisions were almost expended; induced captain Cook to abandon the further investigation of the coast, and to steer to the eastward, nearly in the parallel of 58° S. where we had frequent snow showers, saw many ice-islands every day, and, contrary to our former observations, found the northerly winds colder than

* See Mr. Nairne's Experiments in the LXVI. vol. of the Philosophical Transactions, part i.

those from the south; on which a strong presumption may be founded, that there is no land in the last mentioned direction.

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The four krout, that excellent antiscorbutic food, of which sixty large casks were put on board our ship, was now entirely consumed, and the want of it was severely felt from the captain down to the sailor. It enabled us to eat our portion of salt meat, of which it corrected the septic quality. The wish for a speedy release from this nauseous diet now became universal, and our continuance in the high latitudes of 58° and 57° was disagreeable to all on board. On the 15th we bore away to the northward, having crossed the meridian of Greenwich, and on the 17th, at noon, reached the parallel of M. Bouvet's discovery of Cape Circumcision, when we again ran to the eastward that we might not miss it. The weather was favourable for the purpose; we had a fair wind, and could see to the distance of eight or ten leagues. On the 19th, in the morning, we crossed the place where this cape is laid down by M. des Loziers Bouvet, according to his own journal*, without having at that time the least signs of land, or passing more than four or five islands of ice in the course of the whole day. We continued to run on in the same parallel till the 22d, hav-

Friday 10.

Wednesd. 22.

* See Mr. Dalrymple's Collection of Voyages in the Southern Atlantic Ocean, 1775.

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ing then explored six degrees of longitude to the west of M. Bouvet's supposed land, and about seven degrees to the east of it. Captain Furneaux likewise, after sailing over the space where the Gulph of St. Sebastian is delineated in the charts, and passing between our two discoveries of Georgia and Sandwich Land, crossed the meridian of Cape Circumcision, in the latitude of 54° S. without meeting with land. From the joint authority of these two tracks, we have great room to suppose, that Mr. des Loziers Bouvet saw only a field of ice, with such huge mountainous islands of ice upon it, as we fell in with on the 14th of December, 1772*. Some of our officers were at that time strongly of opinion that they saw land, as the ice bore a striking resemblance to it, and the French captain might be deceived in the same manner. Captain Cook was unwilling to leave it in doubt whether there was land or not in the situation of that field of ice seen in the beginning of our voyage; and therefore directed his course across it on the 23d, without meeting with any obstacles in his way, nor seeing a single island of ice in the same spot which had been covered with immense floating masses about two years and two months before. Being now well assured that there was no considerable land in this part of the ocean, we steered to the northward, in order to make the best of our way towards the Cape of Good

* See vol. I. p. 98.

Hope. The winds being north-westerly, and blowing very fresh, obliged us to make a great deviation to the east of our proper course, till the first of March, when we could steer directly towards the Cape. The wind, however, soon shifted, and blew from its former quarter at several intervals. Its frequent changes occasioned great discontent among our ship's company, whose expectations of putting an end to their distresses, were wound up to the highest pitch. The clouds had perhaps never before been so attentively examined, in order to find some prognostics of a fair wind in their appearance, and the general uneasiness and impatience at an unfavourable change can scarcely be described. Our voyage had now lasted twenty-seven months after leaving the Cape of Good Hope, since which time we had not touched at any European port, and lived chiefly upon salt provisions. The sum total of all the days which we had spent on shore at different islands, and at very great intervals of time, did not amount to more than one hundred and eighty, or about six months. This was the only time of refreshment in the course of our long voyage, and yet during part of this, especially the last year's cruize, we obtained no fresh provisions at several islands. The run from New Zealand towards the Cape of Good Hope was by far the longest and most difficult which we had ever made; for the trifling refreshments which we obtained in Christmas Sound, and at the New Year's Islands, did not afford

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Wednesd. 1.

the

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the crew more than four or five fresh meals. If we add to this, the deficiency of such a salutary article of provision as four krou, and the continual progressive decay of our salt meat, it cannot be very surprising, that towards the latter end of this run, the hardships of our unnatural situation should become more intolerable than ever. Several obvious reflections likewise encreased our uneasiness, in proportion as we advanced towards a place which had some intercourse with Europe. All those who had left behind them relations and parents, were apprehensive that they had lost some of the number during their absence; and it was more than probable, that this interval of time would have dissolved many valuable connections, diminished the number of our friends, and robbed us of the comforts which we used to find in their society.

Wednesd. 15.

Notwithstanding the frequent changes of wind, we advanced to the northward so far, that we began to change our cloaths on the 15th, being then between 35° and 36° S. The next morning, at seven, we saw a ship to the windward of us, and about three hours afterwards we came in sight of another; and the eagerness with which every person on board bent his eyes towards these welcome objects, was the strongest proof of that universal longing for an intercourse with Europeans, which, though hitherto silent, now broke out into loud and fervent wishes. It was thought proper to hoist Dutch colours, upon which the ship in sight hoisted the

1775.
MARCH,

the same; we then hoisted the British flag, and fired a gun to leeward, but the stranger still continued to shew the first. As we were now arrived in a part of the sea frequented by European ships, captain Cook called together all his officers and sailors, and in the name of the Admiralty board, demanded their journals and log-books, which were all packed up and sealed. Those who did not belong to the military establishment*, were not subject to this restriction, but preserved their papers, being only requested not to divulge the particular situations of our late discoveries, previous to their arrival in England. The zealous and candid concern for the advancement of the sciences, which animates the British government, has not suffered them to conceal the improvement which different branches of knowledge have received under their auspices; and it were to be wished, that so laudable and generous an example, might be followed by other maritime powers, who at present seem to steal into the South Seas, and to be ashamed of owning that they have been there.

The ship in sight seemed to be a homeward bound Dutch Indiaman, and held the same course with us, but we gradually came up with her. On the 17th in the morning we founded, and found bottom with fifty-five fathom, being arrived on the bank which runs off the south end of

Friday 17.

* Mr. Wales, Mr. Hodges, my father, and myself.

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MARCH.

Saturday 18.

Africa. Some fishing lines were thrown overboard, and a fish called a pollack was caught. In the evening we made the coast of Africa, which here consisted of low sandy hummocks, and on which we perceived several fires. The next morning a boat was hoisted out, and sent on board the Indiaman, which was now about five miles off. Our people returned in a few hours with the welcome news, that there was universal peace in Europe. The pleasure of this intelligence, was however, in a great measure soured by an account of the massacre of the Adventure's boat's crew. The Dutch captain having been long at sea from Bengal, lamented that he had no refreshments to offer us. In the afternoon, the weather being very fair, and the breeze freshening, we got sight of two Swedish, one Danish, and an English ship, which glided along with all their sails set, and colours flying, and offered to our eyes one of the most pleasing sights which we had beheld for some time past. The next morning, the English ship bore down to us, and lieutenant Clerke, with my father, and a midshipman, went on board of her. In the afternoon, a strong breeze set in, our boat returned, and the Indiaman carefully stood off to sea, whilst we proceeded till we were close in shore. This ship was the True Briton, captain Broadley, on her return from China. Our gentlemen spoke in the strongest terms of the hearty hospitality with which they had been received, and invited to a *plain* dinner. Our

Sunday 19.

readers.

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MARCH.

readers may imagine with what avidity three famished circumnavigators, who had not seen fresh meat for six weeks past, fell upon a dish of fattened Chinese quails, and a delicious goose, which their host reckoned a very homely fare. On relating how long they had been absent from any European settlement, how long they had lived upon salt-beef, and how oft they had regaled themselves with seals, albatrosses, and penguins, the captain and his mates dropped their knives and forks, and in pure pity to the strangers, resigned all pretensions to their dinner. At parting, captain Broadley presented them with a large fat pig, and several geese, on which we dined the two following days. We passed Cape Agulhas on the 20th, and were near being blown far to leeward of the Cape, by a very hard gale, if we had not discovered the land through the haze early on the 21st. We hauled up for it, and carrying more sail than we had ever ventured to do, in the course of the whole voyage, we came safe to an anchor in Table Bay, on the 22d in the morning, which we found was only the 21st, according to the reckoning of the people on shore, we having gained a whole day by sailing round the world to the eastward.

Wednesd. 22d;
or
Tuesday 21.*Errabant acti fatis maria omnia circum.*

VIRGIL.

1775.
MARCH.

C H A P. VII.

Second stay at the Cape of Good Hope.—Run from thence to the Islands of St. Helena and Ascension.

Tuesday 21.

WE found the Table Bay full of ships at our arrival, amongst which was one English Indiaman, the Ceres, captain Newt. As soon as we were seen in the entrance of the bay, and known by our bleached rigging and antiquated appearance, captain Newt very politely sent one of his mates with a boat load of the best refreshments, and with an offer of his assistance in case our crew had been in distress. Having been so long at sea, we were touched with this generous conduct, and with no small degree of pleasure and satisfaction, felt ourselves once more in the company of men. We landed soon after, and having paid our devoirs to the governor, and the principal officers of the company, retired to the house of Mr. Brand, where we were received with that hearty welcome, which always makes men forget national characters, and convinces them, that real worth is not confined to certain climates or nations. The weather was so intensely hot this day, that we did not remember to have ever felt such a degree of heat in the course of our whole voyage. Notwithstanding this, we dined, according

ing

1775.
MARCH.

ing to the Dutch custom, at one o'clock, or during the time of the greatest heat, and devoured our meal with a ravenous appetite, which painted our past distresses in more lively colours, and, as it were, with greater efficacy, than all the powers of language. However, as it would have been dangerous to our emaciated bodies to indulge our voracity too far, we were content to rise from table with a good appetite. We soon found the benefit of this proceeding, and visibly regained strength and healthy looks during our stay at the Cape. The officers of the ship took lodgings on shore the next day; but having neglected to take the same precaution, and eating immoderately at first, were presently surfeited, and continued to labour under a want of appetite and sickness, which made their situation truly tantalizing. Captain Cook sent two or three scorbutic patients to the hospital, these being the only persons who were not able to do their duty. The rest were soon restored to perfect health by a constant supply of refreshments, among which, a kind of brown rye-loaves, and all sorts of greens, were doubtless the most efficacious.

The pleasure of receiving some intelligence from all those who were united to us by the ties of blood and affection, was inexpressible; and the satisfaction of conversing with Europeans, after our long voyage, revived our spirits, which a thousand incidents had conspired to depress. We passed our time very agreeably, and assiduously collected, from
heaps.

1775.
MARCH.

heaps of old gazettes, the history of those years, during which we had been banished, as it were, from all the world. This settlement being resorted to, in summer and autumn, by ships of all nations, appeared at present in a more flourishing light, than during our former stay in 1772. Besides the great annual fleet of Dutch Indiamen, we found here several French vessels from the Isle of France, and likewise one from Europe, commanded by M. Crozet, who had formerly been at New Zealand. Several Danish and two Swedish Indiamen also came in; a Portuguese ship of war lay here several days, and three Spanish frigates, one homeward bound from Manilla, and two going out to that settlement, passed several weeks in this bay. The great events which had happened in Europe during our absence, crowded upon us unexpectedly. Sweden delivered from the yoke of aristocratical tyranny, by a young hero, emulous of Gustave-Vasa; the barbaric darkness, which in the East of Europe and Asia had baffled the Herculean efforts of Peter, dispelled by a princess, who, like the wonder of the polar sky, spreads luminous beams, which turn night into day; lastly, Poland restored to peace, from anarchy and the horrors of civil war, by the united efforts of the leading powers in Europe; and FREDERICK THE GREAT resting from his triumphs, and sacrificing to the Muses in the shade of his laurels, revered and beloved even by his former foes! Such were the great and unexpected prospects, which all at once
opened

opened to our eyes, which promised general happiness to the human race, and seemed to announce a period of time, when mankind will appear in a more exalted light than ever!

1775.
MARCH.

During our stay at the Cape, we made an excursion to False Bay, where Mr. Brand commanded for the Dutch East India Company. The heat of the summer had, in many places, darkened all the tints of green, on that immense variety of low shrubs and plants, which grow in Africa. However we found a great number of species in flower, with which we filled our herbals. The roads are very bad, consisting of deep sand in many places, and of rugged heaps of the hardest stones, in the neighbourhood of False Bay. In our way we saw great coveys of a species of partridge, which the Dutch improperly call pheasants. They are not very shy, and may easily be taken alive, and tamed. As there are many parts about the Cape where these partridges do not breed, the Dutch have found the method of stocking such spots with them. They take several pair of tame partridges, dip them in water, and strew them with ashes, and thus put them among the bushes, with their heads under the wing. I do not doubt but that many readers will call in question the success of this simple manœuvre; but I have only to add, that I heard it from persons whose sincerity I had no reason to suspect.

APRIL.
Friday 7th.

The

1775.
APRIL.

The environs of False Bay are more dreary than those of Table Bay, the country being almost entirely desert, if we except the commander's house, two or three other houses belonging to private persons, and some magazines and work-shops, the property of the Company. The colour of the mountains, however, is less gloomy, and the variety of plants and birds which we found there is surprising. Antelopes likewise reside in great numbers, some among the most inaccessible cliffs, and others amidst the small dry grasses and shrubberies in more level spots. We spent a whole morning in climbing these hills, and returned excessively fatigued from the immoderate heat of the day. On the mountains we saw several over-hanging rocks, forming small caverns, where the Dutch frequently pass the night, when they leave the town to shoot antelopes.

Simmon's Bay is that part of False Bay, where the ships are best sheltered from the violence of the N. W. winds, which prevail here during the winter months. A pier close to the commander's house is built out into the sea, where the boats can take in water and all kinds of stores, with the same facility as in Table Bay. Fish of the best and most palatable sorts are caught here in great plenty, and all kinds of refreshments are easily procured from the plantations on the isthmus, or from the Cape-Town itself, which is only twelve miles distant. The arrival of the
ships

1775.
APRIL.

ships draws several inhabitants from thence to False Bay, who confine themselves in narrow lodgings, for the sake of enjoying the company of strangers. This peculiar situation affords many favourable opportunities towards forming more intimate connections, which, we were told, the strangers seldom neglect, especially as beauty and vivacity are not uncommon at the Cape.

After a stay of three days, we returned to the Cape-Town, where we passed our time in examining the animals at the Company's garden, and searching all the furriers shops, in order to collect an assortment of antelopes skins. We were likewise favoured with the sight of a live *ourang-outang*, or ape, from the island of Java, of that species which has the honour to be adopted as a near relation by several philosophers. This animal was about two feet six inches high, and preferred crawling on all fours, though it could likewise sit and walk upon the hind-legs. Its fingers and toes were remarkably long, and its thumbs very short, its belly prominent, and its face, which was as ugly as it can well be imagined, had a nose more resembling the human than that of other monkeys. This animal has, I am told, been since brought over to the menagerie of the Prince of Orange, at the Hague*.

* This creature died at the Hague in January 1777 ; but, through the gross ignorance and canine malice of the keeper, the ablest anatomists in Holland were disappointed in the hope of dissecting it. He cut off its head, in order to prevent their examining the organs of speech ; and its hands and feet, to preclude the pos-

1775.
APRIL.

We became acquainted, in the course of our stay, with M. Crozet, who, attended by all his officers, dined with us, upon captain Cook's invitation, and entertained us with many curious particulars relating to his voyage. We were afterwards introduced to the Spanish officers, amongst whom there were several whose accomplishments and extensive knowledge do great honour to their corps. They visited our astronomer, Mr. Wales, and were much pleased with the time-keepers, or new-invented watches, which they saw in his possession, complaining, at the same time, of the inaccuracy of all the astronomical instruments which they obtained from their correspondents at London. Mr. Wales readily parted with one of his sextants to them, having now, in a manner, completed the voyage; but captain Cook refused to have any communication with them, and shunned them on all occasions, from what motives we were at a loss to determine. Their frigates were reckoned very fine ships by our officers; that homeward bound was the *Juno*, commanded by Don Juan Arraos; the others, going to Manila, were the *Astrea*, captain Don Antonio Albornos, and the *Venus*, captain Don Gabriel Guerna. The Dutch formerly did not suffer the Spaniards to land at the Cape of Good

fibility of comparing the phalanges with the human and other skeletons. When we consider, through whose interest the inspector of that princely collection at the Hague was appointed, we cannot wonder, that he was a stranger to liberality of sentiment.

Hope,

Hope, and discouraged them, as much as lay in their power, from touching there, keeping strictly to the Pope's bull, which points out the limits of navigation, and shares the world between the crowns of Portugal and Spain. They have, however, of late adopted more Protestant principles, and will soon drop entirely the aversion which they have long expressed towards the Spaniards, as they already feel no reluctance in taking their superfluous dollars.

1775.
APRIL

Our ship's company being well refreshed, and in perfect health, and the ship being likewise refitted and painted, we took on board a quantity of provisions, to serve on our return, and prepared to sail with the first fair wind. After taking leave of all our friends, and particularly of Dr. Sparrman, who had shared the perils and distresses of our voyage, and whose heart had endeared him to all who knew him, we came on board on the 27th in the morning*.

Thursday 27.

About noon, the Dutton Indiaman, captain Rice, got under sail, and we followed her example, after saluting the fort. The Spanish frigate, the Juno, saluted us with nine guns; which unexpected mark of politeness our gunners returned a full quarter of an hour afterwards. A Danish Indiaman, captain Hanssen, likewise saluted us with eleven guns.

* Dr. Sparrman arrived in Sweden in July 1776, having spent a year on a most hazardous and fatiguing expedition into the interior parts of Africa, where he penetrated farther than Dr. Thunberg, and all who went before him; and made many important discoveries, which he intends to communicate to the public.

1775.
APRIL.

Both these ships got under sail immediately after, and soon left us far behind.

We passed through the northern part of the bay, between Robben Island* and the main. This island is a barren sandy spot, where many murderers and other miscreants are confined by order of the Dutch India Company. Among them however there are some unhappy victims to the merciless ambition of these merchants. We need only mention the king of Maduré, who, deprived of his possessions, and driven to the greatest horrors of despair, here lingers out a burthenfome life, in the despicable condition of a common slave†.

————— escape who can,
When man's great foe assumes the shape of man.

CUMBERLAND.

On the 28th, in the morning, a man was found concealed in the hold, and proper enquiry being made, it was discovered that one of the quarter-masters had conducted him thither some days before, and shared his daily allowance with him. His good-nature was punished with a dozen lashes, and another dozen applied on the

* This is called Pinguin Island in English charts.

† I forbear to repeat the horrid story of this unfortunate monarch, which reflects indelible dishonour on his inhuman tormentors. It is indeed very fully and feelingly related in a book little known, intitled a Voyage to the East Indies, in 1747 and 1748, containing an account of St. Helena, Java, Batavia, the Dutch Government, and of China; interspersed with anecdotes, and illustrated with copper-plates. 8vo. London, 1762.

stranger's

stranger's back as a welcome. He was a native of his majesty's German dominions, who having been kidnapped into the Dutch East India service, had applied to captain Cook to take him under his protection. But it being deemed improper to protect all his majesty's subjects alike; he had been reduced to the necessity of coming on board by stealth, in order to escape from a service to which he had been unjustly forced. He soon proved to be one of the most industrious men in the whole ship, and gave our crew a good idea of their Hanoverian fellow-subjects.

1775.
APRIL.

We shaped our course directly for the island of St. Helena, as soon as we had cleared the land about Table Bay. The Dutton Indiaman kept company with us, her captain relying on the superior accuracy of our computations; it being customary with all India ships, first to run down the latitude, and then to bear away for the island upon a parallel. We made the island right a-head on the 15th of May, early in the morning, and came to an anchor at midnight in the usual anchoring-place of James's Bay. As we ran along the south-eastern shore, we found it of a considerable height, and consisting of perpendicular porous rocks, of a brown and blackish colour, which in some places appeared to be hollowed out by the continual dashing of the waves against them *.

MAY.
Monday 15th

* The description of these cavities, in Dr. Hawksworth's Compilation, vol. III. p. 796, must be considered as a poetical flight.

Early

1775.
MAY.
Tuesday 16.

Early the next morning our ship was saluted from James's Fort, which is the principal fort in the bay, and as soon as we answered it, the Dutton also saluted. The town, which lay before us, had a steep dreary mountain on each side, which looked more burnt and desolate than Easter Island itself. However, at the head of the valley between them we perceived some green mountains, and in the town itself two coco-palms rose behind the fort. After breakfast we landed at a flight of steps newly constructed, but which had at all times been much wanted, as the surf breaks in with great violence on every part of the shore. We walked between a huge impending rock and a parapet wall which faces the sea, to a gate with a draw-bridge, defended by small batteries. It led to a very considerable battery fronting an esplanade, with a shady walk of banian-trees (*ficus religiosa*.) Here we passed another gate, and entered the governor's house, which is likewise fortified, and forms a kind of castle. The governor, Mr. Skottowe, received captain Cook with the greatest marks of distinction, a salute of thirteen guns being fired on his arrival at the house. Soon after, the passengers from on board the Dutton* likewise came to visit the governor. This worthy and generous

* They were the Hon. Frederick Stuart, son to the earl of Bute, J. Graham, Esq. late in the council of Bengal, and his lady, J. Laurel, Esq. — Johnson, Esq. and his lady, colonel Maclean, and several others. Mr. Graham is since dead.

veteran,

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veteran, who has been crippled in his country's service, took every opportunity to make our stay on the island agreeable, and, in particular, to facilitate our researches as naturalists. We were in the course of the day introduced to the principal officers of the Company in the town, who received us with a degree of easy politeness, peculiar to men of liberal principles. The governor's house contains several spacious and convenient apartments, which are particularly agreeable in this hot climate, on account of their loftiness. Its outside is, however, very plain, as are all the buildings in the town, not excepting the church, which is newly built of lime-stone found on the island. A small garden, at the back of the governor's house, contains a few shady walks, and some curious East Indian trees, among which is the *Barringtonia*. The barracks of the garrison, which is here supported by the East India Company, are situated farther in the valley; as is likewise an hospital, with a small orchard, from whence the sick are supplied with greens, and where they are allowed to walk. Several other buildings belonging to the Company are situated in the same valley, where, notwithstanding the sea-breeze, we felt the heat excessive, being confined and reverberated by a high barren mountain on each side, which must make the residence in town highly disagreeable and gloomy. Many of the principal inhabitants open their houses for the reception of strangers who come on shore at
this

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this place from the India ships. The terms are here nearly the same as at the Cape; but the produce of so small an island as St. Helena, will not allow of that provision of good cheer, for which the Dutch colony is famous over all the world. We were entertained by Mr. Mason, a very worthy old man, to whom this settlement owes some of its best and most amiable inhabitants. Having taken our lodgings, we went to dine with the governor; and the spirit with which the conversation was carried on, gave a convincing proof, that the means of acquiring useful knowledge, from a store of good books, were by no means neglected among the inhabitants. Dr. Hawkesworth's account of captain Cook's first voyage round the world, in the Endeavour, had reached this island some time before; it had been eagerly perused, and several articles, relative to this settlement, were now taken notice of with great good humour and pleasant raillery. The total want of wheelbarrows, and the ill-treatment of the slaves, which are spoken of in that account*, were reckoned particularly injurious, and captain Cook was called upon to defend himself. Mrs. Skottowe,

* See Hawkesworth's Compilation, vol. III. p. 797. There are many wheelbarrows and several carts on the island, some of which seemed to be studiously placed before captain Cook's lodgings every day. The treatment of slaves is also misrepresented; they have not that pernicious influence on the education of the inhabitants, which is but too frequent at the Cape, and which there fans the fire caused by the heat of the climate.

the sprightliest lady on the island, displayed to advantage her witty and satirical talents, from which there was no other escape left, than to lay the blame on the absent philosophers whose papers had been consulted.

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Early the next morning, the Hon. Mr. Stuart, captain Cook, and myself, took an airing on the hills. We rode up that which lies to the westward, and is named the Ladder-hill. The road, which has been lately made, ascends in zigzag along its steep sides, and is very easy of ascent. Its breadth is nine feet, being enclosed on the declivity by a wall about three feet high, made of the same stone of which the whole mountain consists. This is nothing but a heap of lava, crumbling and decaying into a brown earth in some parts, whilst in others it forms huge masses of black cavernous flags, which, in a few instances, seemed to be somewhat vitreous. Many rocks of this kind hang over the road, and sometimes roll down to the terror and great risk of the inhabitants, being frequently detached by goats, which came to brouze there; but the soldiers of the garrison have received orders to shoot those animals as often as they appear on these eminences; and no other command is obeyed with greater alacrity, because they are generally permitted to feast upon the goat which they have killed. We proceeded into the country along the summit of this hill, about half a mile, when all at once appeared one of the finest prospects we had ever seen. It consisted of several

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sloping hillocks, covered with rich verdure, and interspersed with fertile vallies, which contained gardens, orchards, and various plantations. Many pastures furrounded by enclosures of stone, were filled with a small, but fine breed of cattle, and with English sheep; and every valley was provided with a little rivulet, many of which probably take their rise near two high mountains in the midst of the island, which are frequently involved in clouds. We crossed several hills, and looked down into Sandy Bay, which is a small cove situated on the opposite part of the island, and defended by a battery. The view was here romantic, the mountains being covered with thick wild woods to their summits, and several of them, especially that named Diana's Peak, rising in the most elegant forms. The rocks and stones in this higher part of the island, were quite different from those in the valley which we had left. Below they bore evident marks of the existence of a former volcano; but here above, they consisted of a dark grey clayey stone in strata, or in some places of lime-stone, and in others of an unctuous soft stone, like soap-rock *. The soil which

* These observations do not agree with those in Dr. Hawkesworth's Compilation, vol. III. p. 795. That volcanos are always seated in the highest mountains of the country where they are found, is an opinion contradicted by many facts; and the correspondence of angles in opposite mountains, is not more evident to critical observers, than landscapes on Florentine marbles. Dr. Hawkesworth has generally been unfortunate in his remarks on Nature, as well as in his philosophical digressions, and often misunderstood M. Pauw and de Buffon, from whom he has freely copied without making the least acknowledgment. If
the

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covers these strata, is in many places a rich mould, from six to ten inches deep, and a variety of plants thrive in it with luxuriance. I found several shrubs on this excursion, which I had seen in no other part of the world, and among them were those which the inhabitants named cabbage-trees, gum-trees, and red-wood; the former thrive in places where the ground is very moist; but the latter are always found on the ridge of hills where the soil is dry *. The cabbage-tree is one of the indigenous species, and has rather large leaves; but after many repeated enquiries, I found that it was never made use of any other way, than as fuel, and that no reason could be assigned why it has obtained that name. It must not be confounded with the cabbage-tree of America, India, and the South Seas, which is a species of palm.

We were thoroughly wetted several times by smart showers, after each of which the heat of the sun dried us in a few minutes. We stopped every slave whom we met on the road, in order to enquire of him what treatment

the reader is desirous of knowing the true state of volcanos, we will venture to refer him to Ferber's letters to Baron Born, London, 1776. Raspe Specimen Globi Terraquei, &c. Amsterd. 1763. Also Mr. Raspe's Account of some German volcanos, London, 1776.

* This difference is consequently not owing to the diversity of the climate, in various parts of the island. I have seen all these plants growing at short distances asunder, and the island upon the whole is not so immensely high, as to admit of several climates. See Hawkesworth's Compilation, vol. III. p. 796.

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he received from his master ; being desirous to know whether the published accounts were more to be relied upon, than those of the inhabitants. In general, we obtained such answers as were favourable to these happy islanders, and removed the blame which had formerly been thrown on them. A few indeed complained that they were sparingly supplied with food, but this is a disadvantage under which I am told, even their masters sometimes labour, being obliged to eat salt provisions at certain seasons. The situation of the soldiers appeared to be by far more irksome, they being confined to constant salt-diet, of which the East-India Company, it is said, allows very scanty portions. Their pay is also very small, and made much less before it comes from England. Those who are most industrious, obtain leave at times to work for the inhabitants, and earn their subsistence by carrying wood for fuel, from the mountains to the town. We saw some old grey-headed men employed in this manner, who seemed very chearful, till we prevailed upon them to speak of their hardships, which they could not do without emotion. All however mentioned their governor with great affection, who is indeed generally esteemed on the island, and has the good of the settlement much at heart.

We returned into the town, descending along the slope of the hill, opposite to that by which we went up, and found ourselves much refreshed by our excursion. The

horses

horses at St. Helena, are imported chiefly from the Cape of Good Hope, and a few are now bred on the island; they are small, but travel well in this hilly country.

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The next day after breakfast, the governor invited to his country-house a numerous company, consisting of the captains and passengers in our ship, and the Dutton. We rode up the same hill which I had ascended in the first ramble, and at the distance of about three miles from the town, arrived at the place appointed. We were elegantly entertained at a small house, agreeably situated in the midst of a very spacious garden, where we saw several plants of Europe, Africa, and America, and particularly a profusion of roses and lilies, interspersed with myrtle and laurel. Several walks of peach-trees were loaded with fruit, which had a peculiar rich flavour different from that of our peaches; but all other European fruit-trees thrived indifferently, and if I was rightly informed, never bear any fruit. Vines have likewise been planted several times, but have not succeeded, on account of the climate; and cabbages and other greens, which thrive extremely well, are devoured by caterpillars. We walked on all the neighbouring hills, and saw some small spots which had been sowed with barley; but this, and all other kinds of corn, are generally destroyed by the rats, which are immensely numerous on the island. The ground is therefore laid out in pastures, of which the vivid verdure, in a tropical climate, was really
fur-

Thursday 13.

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surprising. We were told that the whole island can support 3000 head of cattle, but that there were only 2600 upon it at that time. From the number of fields which we saw unoccupied, we judged that a much greater number might find sufficient food; but we were assured that the grass does not grow up again during winter, and that a certain number of fields must be reserved for that season. The beef is juicy, delicious, and very fat, and the constant consumption of it prevents the cattle growing old on the island. The common furze or gorse (*ulex europæus*) which our farmers take great pains to eradicate, has been planted here, and now over-runs all the pastures. The inhabitants have found means to draw advantage from a shrub, which has universally been esteemed useless and pernicious. The aspect of the country was not always so delightful as it is at present; the ground was parched by the intense heat, and all kinds of herbage and grass were shrivelled up. The introduction of furze bushes, which throve as it were in despite of the sun, preserved a degree of moisture in the ground; under their shade the grass began to grow, and gradually covered the whole country with a rich and beautiful sod. At present the furze is no longer wanted, and the people assiduously root it out, and make use of it for fuel, which is indeed very scarce upon the island, though I never saw a more economical use made of it than there, and at the Cape. It is really surprising to see a variety of dishes
dressed,

dress'd, especially at the last mentioned settlement, with no greater fire than an English cook would make under a small tea-kettle.

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In our return we saw several coveys of partridges, which are of the small red-legged sort, common on the coast of Africa. We likewise saw several beautiful ring-pheasants, which have been introduced into the island by the governor, together with guinea-hens and rabbits. There is at present a penalty of five pounds for killing a pheasant, by which means they multiply so fast, that the restriction will soon be needless. Several other useful importations might still be made, which would contribute to the greater opulence of the people. Snail-trefoil and clover might be sowed, which would doubtless give more substantial food for the cattle than grass alone; and the cultivation of pulse, such as carvances and Chinese beans (*dolichos sinensis* & *phaseolus mungo*), of which sago is made in the province of Georgia, in North America *, cannot be too frequently recommended. A little perseverance, and a few trials, would easily succeed in destroying the rats and caterpillars, which now devour many useful plants; and these appear to be the principal obstacles to agriculture on the island. Asses ought to be carried

* This is equal in goodness to the real sago, which is the pith of a fern in the eastern islands of India. The North American sort is now well known in England, by the name of Bowen's sago-powder, and the royal navy is supplied with it.

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thither from Senegal ; where, as M. Adanson says, they have an excellent breed of them. The removal of all kinds of goods would be infinitely facilitated by this importation ; and there are several spots of ground, where cattle cannot feed, that would be extremely suitable to animals which are so indifferent in regard to food.

We passed the next day at Mr. Mafon's country-house, at the distance of four or five miles from the town. We made a circuit, in order to go up a high mountain adjacent to Diana's Peak, where we collected some curious plants, though the weather was very rainy. Having seen on this excursion a small kind of blue dove, which is said to have been originally found in the country, as well as the red-legged partridge ; and likewise some rice-birds, commonly called paddies (*loxia oryzivora*), which have been introduced from the East Indies ; we passed a small farm, about a quarter of a mile from the road, where two Bramins resided, who were accused of having opposed the Company's interest in India. Whether the crime was real or imaginary, remains undetermined ; but I could not avoid taking notice of the different manner in which the Dutch and English treat their captives. The king of Maduré is locked in a dungeon on Robben Island, whereas these Bramins are suffered to be at large, and have a house and gardens, with all kinds of provisions, besides several slaves to wait upon them.

In

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In the evening we returned to town, where Mr. Graham gave a ball to the inhabitants. On entering the room, I was very agreeably surpris'd with the great beauty and elegance displayed in a numerous circle of ladies ; I thought myself suddenly transported to the most brilliant capital of Europe : their features were regular, their forms graceful, and their complexion perfectly fair. To these charms we may add an easy deportment, a genteel education, a pleasing flow of spirits, and acuteness of understanding, which gave constant life to their conversation, and totally banished all formal constraint. The same company graced another ball the next night, which was given by Mr. Laurel ; and, notwithstanding the short interval which was left for repose, we had the same reason as before to admire their vivacity and activity. The number of ladies was so great, that some of them were at a loss for partners, notwithstanding the presence of many persons from on board the two ships in the harbour. On this occasion we were told, that the number of female children born in this island evidently exceeds that of males, in the same manner as it remarkably does at the Cape of Good Hope. It would be an important circumstance to ascertain, whether this is always the case in warm countries, especially as philosophers could not fail to draw many inferences from thence relative to the domestic life of different nations. These proportions are not yet well ascertained, even in some parts of Europe ; and where they

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are determined with some precision, they offer several curious facts. In England and France the number of male children exceeds that of females; but in Sweden it is the reverse. The number of inhabitants on St. Helena does not exceed two thousand persons, including near five hundred soldiers, and six hundred slaves. The greatest extent of their island is nearly eight miles, and the circuit about twenty. By the arrival of the India ships, which they supply with refreshments, they are in return provided with all sorts of manufactures and other necessaries; and the Company annually orders one or two of their ships to touch there in their way to India, in order to send them a sufficient quantity of European goods and provisions, which they stand in need of. Many of their slaves are employed in catching fish, which are very plentiful; and by the help of these, together with their cattle, poultry, roots, and salt provisions, they subsist throughout the year. Their life seems to pass along very happily; free from the multitude of cares which distresses their countrymen in England, and blessed with quiet and content.

Sunday 21.

The same company which had passed the evening at the ball appeared at church the next morning. The Rev. Mr. Carr, a young clergyman of great merit, and of very liberal sentiments, pronounced a sensible discourse, well suited to his audience, and convinced us that he has all the qualities of an excellent spiritual pastor. After the sermon we dined with.

with the governor ; and taking leave of all our friends, whose amiable character had endeared them to us in so short a time as that of our stay, returned on board, captain Cook's departure being honoured once more by a salute from the castle. Towards night we got under way, in company with the Dutton Indiaman, and proceeded to the northward. The Company had sent an order to St. Helena a few months before our arrival, importing that none of their ships should touch at the Isle of Ascension, which they formerly used to frequent for the sake of taking some turtles. Captain Cook, however, being desirous of visiting this island, parted company with the Dutton on the 24th in the evening, after we had all dined on board that ship, and experienced many civilities from captain Rice and all his passengers. We came in sight of the land early on the 28th in the morning, and having run all day towards it, came to an anchor in Cross Bay about five o'clock in the evening. This island was first discovered in 1501, by Joaõ da Nova Galego, a Portuguese navigator, who named it Ilha de Nossa Senhora de Conceição. The same admiral, on his return to Portugal in 1502, discovered the Island of St. Helena, which obtained that name from the day of the discovery *. Ascension was seen a second time by Alfonso

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Sunday 28.

* These particulars are mentioned in a Portuguese MS. obligingly communicated to me by George Perry, Esq. lately returned from India, and intitled, *Conquista da*

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d'Albuquerque on his voyage to India in 1503, and then received the name it now bears; but was already at that time in the same desolate condition as at present*. We sent several parties on shore, who passed the night on the watch for turtles, which came to lay their eggs on the sandy shores. The dreariness of this island surpassed all the horrors of Easter Island and Tierra del Fuego, even without the assistance of snow. It was a ruinous heap of rocks, many of which, as far as we could discern from the ship, seemed to be totally changed by the fire of a volcano. Nearly in the centre of the island rises a broad white mountain of great height, on which we discerned some verdure by the help of our glasses, from whence it has obtained the name of Green Mountain.

Monday 29.

We landed early in the morning among some rocks, the surf being always immensely high on the great beach; which consists of minute shell-sand, chiefly of a snowy white, very deep, dry, and intolerable to the eyes, when the sun shines. We ascended among heaps of black cavernous stone, which perfectly resembles the most common lavas of Vesuvius and Iceland, and of which the broken pieces looked as if they

India per suas e outras Armas, reais e Evangelicas; the author of which appears to have been a Jesuit.

* See the Voyage of Giovanni da Empoli on board of one of Albuquerque's ships; Ramusio Raccolta di Viaggi, vol. I. p. 145, edition of 1563.

had

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had been accumulated by art. The lava currents cooling very suddenly, may easily be imagined to produce such an effect. Having ascended about twelve or fifteen yards perpendicular, we found ourselves on a great level plain, of six or eight miles in circuit, in the different corners of which, we observed a large hill of an exact conical shape, and of a reddish colour, standing perfectly insulated. Part of the plain between these conic hills, was covered with great numbers of smaller hillocks, consisting of the same wild and ragged lava, as that near the sea, and ringing like glass when two pieces are knocked together. The ground between the heaps of lava, was covered with a black earth on which we walked very firmly; but where these heaps did not appear, the whole was a red earth, which was so loose, and in such dry minute particles, that the wind raised clouds of dust upon it. The conic hills consisted of a very different sort of lava, which was red, soft, and crumbling into earth. One of these hills stands directly in front of the bay, and has a wooden cross on its summit, from whence the bay is said to take its name. Its sides are very steep, but a path near three quarters of a mile long, winds round it to the summit. After examining this remarkable country a little longer, we concluded with a great degree of probability on our side, that the plain on which we stood, was once the crater or seat of a volcano, by the accumulation of whose cinders and pumice-stones, the conic.

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conic hills had been gradually formed; that the currents of lava which we now saw divided into many heaps, had perhaps been gradually buried in fresh cinders and ashes, and the waters coming down from the interior mountain in the rainy season, had smoothened every thing in their way, and filled up by degrees the cavity of the crater. The rocky black lava was the residence of numberless men of war birds and boobies, which sat on their eggs, and suffered us to come close to them. The men of war birds in general, have a prodigious pendulous skin, of a bright red, which they can distend to the size of a man's hand, and which resembles the pelican's pouch, being perhaps intended for the same purpose by nature. On all this rocky ground, we did not meet with more than ten shrivelled plants, which were only of two sorts; one a species of spurge, the other a bind-weed (*euphorbia origanoides*, & *convolvulus pes capræ*). We returned on board at noon, where we saw only six turtles which had been caught over night, their laying season being almost at an end. The officer who had been sent to the eastward, found the wreck of a ship there, which appeared to have been partly consumed by fire, and was probably run on shore by the people, in order to save their lives. The distressful situation to which such a set of men must have been reduced, in this barren island, before a ship could take them up, drew an expression of pity even from the sailors. But their misfortune

fortune was now become our advantage ; for our provision of fuel being very low, captain Cook sent his boats to take in a sufficient quantity of the timbers of this wreck.

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About eight in the evening, it being then quite dark, a small vessel came into the bay, and anchored directly within us. Captain Cook having hailed her repeatedly, received in answer, that she was the *Lucretia*, a New York sloop, which had been at Sierra Leon, and was now come to catch turtles, in order to sell them at the windward islands of the West Indies. A lieutenant was sent on board, who learnt from the master, that he had taken our ship to be a French Indiaman, and was very desirous of trading with English India-ships, in which he was disappointed by the Company's regulations. He dined with our officers the next day, but on the 31st at day-break, left the island. On the 30th in the morning, we landed a second time, and crossing the plain, arrived at a prodigious lava current, intersected by many channels, from six to eight yards deep, which bore strong marks of being worn by vast torrents of water ; but were at present perfectly dry, the sun being in the northern hemisphere. In these gullies we found a small quantity of soil, consisting of a black volcanic earth, mixed with some whitish particles gritty to the touch. Here we saw some small bunches of purslane, and a species of grass (*panicum sanguineum*) which found sufficient nutriment:

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in

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in the dry soil. Having at last with great fatigue, climbed over this extensive and tremendous current of lava, which was much more solid than the heaps nearer to the sea, we came to the foot of the green mountain, which even from the ship's place in the bay, we had plainly distinguished to be of a different nature from all the rest of the country. Those parts of the lava which surrounded it, were covered with a prodigious quantity of purslane, and a kind of new fern (*lonchitis adscensionis*) where several flocks of wild goats were feeding. The great mountain is divided in its extremities, by various clefts into several bodies, but in the centre they all run together, and form one broad mass of great height. The whole appears to consist of a gritty tophaceous lime-stone, which has never been attacked by the volcano, but probably existed prior to its eruption; its sides are covered with a kind of grass, peculiar to the island, which Linnæus has named *aristida adscensionis*. We likewise observed several flocks of goats feeding on it; but they were all excessively shy, and ran with surprising velocity along tremendous precipices, where it was impossible to follow them. The master of the New York sloop acquainted us, that there is a spring of water on one part of this mountain, which falls down a great precipice, and is afterwards absorbed in the sand. I am almost persuaded that with a little trouble, Ascension might shortly be made fit for the residence
of

of men. The introduction of furze (*ulex europæus*), and of a few other plants which thrive best in a parched soil, and are not likely to be attacked by rats or goats, would soon have the same effect as at St. Helena. The moisture attracted from the atmosphere by the high mountains in the centre of the island, would then no longer be evaporated by the violent action of the sun, but collect into rivulets, and gradually supply the whole island. A sod of grasses would every where cover the surface of the ground, and annually encrease the stratum of mould, till it could be planted with more useful vegetables.

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MAY.

We returned gradually to Cross Bay, in the heat of noon, over the plain, having a space of more than five miles to traverse, where the sun burnt, and blistered our faces and necks, and heated the soil to such a degree, that our feet were likewise extremely sore. About three o'clock we arrived at the water's-side, and after bathing in a small cove among a few rocks, we made the signal for a boat, and were taken on board. The next forenoon we made another small excursion, in company with captain Cook, towards the Green Mountain, but we were all of us so much fatigued that we could not reach it. We made no new observations in the course of this day, the nature of the island being dreary beyond description, in its outskirts. In the afternoon we hoisted in all our boats, and set sail,

Wednesd. 31st

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MAY.

having taken twenty-four turtles, weighing from three to four hundred pounds each. They lasted us three weeks, one and sometimes two being killed every day, and the ship's company receiving as much as they could eat of this wholesome and palatable food.

C H A P. VIII.

Run from Ascension, past the Island of Fernando da Noronha, to the Açores.—Stay at Fayal.—Return to England.

AFTER leaving Ascension we made a good deal of westing, infomuch that we came in sight of the Island of Fernando da Noronha, near the coast of Brasil, on the 9th of June, about one o'clock in the afternoon. The longitude of this island being hitherto unsettled, captain Cook only ran in sight of it, in order to determine its true situation. Americo Vespucci, whose name has since been given to the continent, of which he was one of the first discoverers, fell in with this island in his fourth voyage, so early as the year 1502 *; but in what manner it received its present name remains unknown. In 1733, the French India Company made a small settlement on it; but the Portuguese laid claim to it, and took possession of it, in 1739 †. According to the charts of the French, all the interior part of the island consists of extensive plains, which are surrounded by several hills along the sea-shores ‡. We ap-

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JUNE.
Friday 9.

* See Ramusio Raccolta di Viaggi, &c. tom. I. p. 129.

† Don Antonio Ulloa's Voyage to South America, vol. II. may be consulted, where some account of the Portuguese settlement is inserted.

‡ A very fine plan of the island is published in M. Buache's map, intitled, *Carte de la Partie de l'Océan vers l'Equateur entre les Cotes d'Afrique & d'Amerique*,

1775.
JUNR.

proached it on the east side, and then hauled close round the Isle of Rats, which lies off its N. E. point, and looked into the Bay of Remedios, which is surrounded by five forts, some on Fernando Noronha itself, and one on a rock which lies off the N. E. end. The island appeared very well wooded in all parts, and some of its mountains had much the appearance of being volcanic, though they were covered with rich verdure, which did not shew the least marks of cultivation. The five forts in sight hoisted their colours at once, and one of them fired a gun. We likewise hoisted our colours, fired a gun to leeward, and instantly putting about, stood away to the northward.

Sunday 11.

On the 11th we crossed the line, after spending two years and nine months to the south of it. The calms which are usual in its neighbourhood did not retard our course, till we had gained near four degrees of north latitude, and lasted from the 14th to the 18th, when the N. E. trade-wind set in, after we had amused ourselves with catching some sharks and a porpessé, which the crew feasted upon. Of a very numerous collection of live animals, which my father had collected at a great expence at the Cape of Good Hope, nearly one half perished before we reached these la-

1737. This map was published with a view to prove, that certain shoals (now well known not to exist) caused the various currents observed in that part of the sea; and the tribe of French philosophers have built many systems upon it, which are consequently very ill supported.

titudes.

itudes. Being desirous of preserving the rest, he was obliged to put himself to another expence, in order to rescue them from the malice of the sailors, who had sily and enviously killed most of those which he had lost before.

1775.
JUNE.

The trade-wind carried us out of the torrid zone in twelve days, and lasted us five days more ; the sun, which commonly regulates the extent of this wind, being in the northern signs. On the 4th of July we met with squalls and calms alternately ; and the next day had a dead calm, which lasted undisturbed during two days, and was intermixed with light airs for the two following days. The latitudes where these calms chiefly reign, are named the horse-latitudes by mariners, who frequently cross the ocean from Europe to America, because they are fatal to horses and other cattle, which are transported to the last mentioned continent ; instances frequently happening, when the calms have lasted a whole month without being interrupted, except by light airs of a few hours duration.

Friday 30.

JULY.
Tuesday 4.

Having obtained a fair wind on the 9th, we directed our course towards the Açores, commonly called the Western Islands in English charts ; and on the 13th, at four in the afternoon, saw the Island of Fayal. Early the next morning we stood in for the land, and gradually came in sight of the lofty Island of Pico, of which the skirts appeared to be covered with verdure and habitations. Towards seven we drew near the road or bay on the Island of Fayal, where
ships.

Friday 14.

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ships commonly anchor. The Portuguese master of the port came off to us in a small boat, in order to point out a secure place of anchorage, where three vessels were already moored. He acquainted us in French, that one of these, a snow under Portuguese colours, had lately arrived from Para in the Brasils, having, through the ignorance of her conductor, missed the Cape Verd Islands, to which she was bound. Another small vessel, which did not shew any colours, was a North-American sloop. The third was the *Pourvoyeuse*, a French frigate, whose captain, M. d'Estelle, with great politeness sent a lieutenant on board, to offer his services to captain Cook. After coming to an anchor, an officer was sent on shore to the commandant of the fort, in order to make the usual enquiry with regard to the salute; but after being detained several hours, he was told that the fort always returned two guns less than it received, for which reason we did not think proper to pay the compliment. The American sloop set sail in the afternoon, being greatly apprehensive of some mischance from us, though we were inclined to be at peace with all the world.

The appearance of the town, from the sea side, made nearly the same impression on us, as that of Funchal in Madeira. It lies along the shore of the bay, and rises in the form of an amphitheatre upon the hill, with an easy slope. Its churches, monasteries, forts, and flat-roofed houses, which are for the greatest part white, produce a
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very pleasing effect. The hills beyond the town are some of the richest that nature and industry ever adorned. They were at this time loaded with ripe corn-fields, interspersed with gardens, groves, and various buildings, which bore evident marks of a great population, and raised every idea of plenty. There are two forts which command the bay, one at each extremity of the town, but the southernmost is the most considerable.

Immediately after dinner captain Cook, accompanied by my father and myself, went on shore at the foot of the southern fort. We were no sooner landed than we plainly discovered from what motives the Portuguese had refused to return an equal salute. The cannon rested on rotten carriages, which it was not prudent to expose to the shock of a discharge; and the greater part of them were placed on a rampart, which was infinitely too narrow to be fit for use. Besides this, we were afterwards informed, that the expence of powder, upon such occasions, was deemed superfluous by the present economical ministry in Portugal. We walked through great part of the town, which is named Villa da Horta, and extends a mile and a quarter in length, consisting chiefly of one irregular street, intersected by a few small lanes. The pavement is made of large stones, and tolerably clean, being little frequented. The houses are contrived exactly in the same manner as those of Madeira, with projecting balconies which are roofed at the top, and
have

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have lattices that may be lifted up occasionally, supplying the place of windows. After we had visited the churches, of which there are three, dark and Gothic like those of Madeira, we were conducted to Mr. Dent, the English deputy-consul, who received us very kindly, and offered Mr. Wales, my father, Mr. Hodges, and myself a lodging in his house during our stay. He accompanied us next to the different convents within the town. One of these belongs to the Franciscan Cordeliers, who are twenty in number, besides several lay-brothers ; and, according to their own account, teach rhetoric, philosophy, and divinity to the children of the inhabitants. Another, situated on an eminence, contains twelve Carmelites, with their lay-brothers. The third lies on a hill above the town, and belongs to twelve Capuchins, with some lay-brothers. The fourth is placed in the best and most conspicuous part of the town, and was formerly the college of the Jesuits, but is now converted into a court of justice, a part of it being reserved for a public school. It cannot be expected that learning should flourish in all these dreary cells. The monks being here entirely cut off from the means of acquiring knowledge, are content to live comfortably and agreeably, without undergoing the fatigues of study. The two nunneries next attracted our attention ; the one is dedicated to St. John, and contains one hundred and fifty nuns of the order of St. Clara, with as many servants. They wear a long cloak, of
dark

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dark brown serge, over another of white callicoe. Eighty or ninety nuns, of the order of Nossa Senhora de Conceição, occupy another convent, with an equal number of servants. They wear white dresses, and have a piece of blue silk fixed on the breast, together with an image of the Virgin on a silver plate. The reception which we met with at their grates was very polite; but we could not converse with them for want of knowing their language. Their pronunciation was very soft, and in a singing tone, which we should have taken to be affected, if we had not afterwards found it general among all ranks of people. The features of some were very agreeable, and their complexions fairer than we expected, though in general rather languid. Religion had not yet so entirely occupied their breast, as to extinguish every spark of corporeal fire; their eyes, which were indeed their finest features, still betrayed an attachment to nature; and if there is truth in the hundredth part of the accounts which we heard at Fayal, love reigns with absolute sway in the midst of their cloisters.

After walking about till sunset, we returned to Mr. Dent's house, and were introduced to a Portuguese priest, who spoke Latin better than all the friars in the different convents, and appeared to be a very intelligent man, whose inquisitive turn of mind had got the better of many prejudices which were common among his countrymen. He communicated to us a Spanish literary and political journal,

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which is read at present throughout the Portuguese dominions; the prime minister having prohibited the printing of any kind of gazette or news-paper in Portugal. This regulation greatly contributes to keep that kingdom in profound ignorance, which is the only security of an oppressive government.

The next morning we paid a visit to the officers of the French frigate, who lodged at the house of Mrs. Milton, an English woman, and a widow. This good lady, hearing we had been round the world, shed a flood of tears, and told us that our arrival put her in mind of the cruel death of one of her sons, who had embarked in captain Furneaux's ship, and was one of those unfortunate men that were killed and devoured in New Zealand. The circumstances with which his untimely fate was attended, are much more horrible, according to the ideas we imbibe by education, than those of any other manner of death, and could not fail of making a deeper impression on the unhappy parent. Her grief was likewise of that genuine kind, to which no feeling heart can refuse a sympathetic tribute; and it taught us to reflect, how many mothers in Europe, and in the South Seas, have had reason to wail the loss of their sons, and to execrate the enterprizing spirit of mankind. Mrs. Milton, reflecting on the many calamities which had embittered her life, was resolved to secure repose and happiness for her daughter, by placing her in one
of

of the nunneries of Fayal; without considering at the same time, that the world has charms at the age of fourteen, which lose their attractive power at fifty. Her daughter was handsome enough to dispute the palm of beauty with all the Portuguese ladies at Fayal. One of our officers, therefore, undertook to dissuade Mrs. Milton from her project, and assured her, in very blunt terms indeed, that so far from doing a meritorious action, she would incur the eternal displeasure of heaven. Whether a seaman's admonition could have much effect I leave the reader to determine; Mrs. Milton, however, received it with good humour; and the conversation which followed, gave a convincing proof, that religious motives were not so urgent, in behalf of her daughter's confinement, as those of private interest.

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From hence we took a walk upon the hills beyond the town, and found the ground extremely well cultivated, all the fields being enclosed by walls of stone, in some places cemented together, in others only wrapped in moss. The people chiefly sow wheat of the bearded sort, of which the ears were very large, and the straw of no great length. Besides this, they have likewise barley, which was already housed; and maize, or Indian corn, which grows in some places under fine groves of chestnut-trees, that greatly adorn the country; but where it stands in open fields, they mix it with French beans. Near the cottages we found some fields of cucumbers, gourds, melons, and water-

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melons, together with safflor, which the Portuguese employ to colour their eatables yellow. Their orchards supply them with lemons, oranges, plums, apricots, figs, pears, and apples. They have few cabbages, and their carrots degenerate, and turn white, which obliges them to send for fresh seeds to Europe every year. They plant abundance of potatoes by the express command of the government, and sell them very cheap, because they do not like to eat them. Large sweet onions, and garlick, the favourite greens of the Portuguese, are plentiful on the island; together with the *solanum lycopersicon*, the fruit of which they call tomatos, and likewise abundance of strawberries. There are a few vineyards on the island; but the quantity of wine which is made is inconsiderable, and its quality very indifferent. Their oxen are small, but the meat very good, though they are employed to draw the plough and the cart. Their sheep are likewise of a very small breed, but the mutton well tasted. Their goats and hogs are long-legged; and besides these, they keep abundance of poultry of all sorts. Their horses are small and ill-looking; but asses and mules are more numerous, and perhaps more serviceable in this hilly island. The roads are much better than at Madeira, and every thing, upon the whole, bears evident marks of greater industry. The deafening noise made by their carts is, however, very disagreeable, and owing to their awkward construction. The wheels are formed of three large clumsy pieces of wood,

wood, bound by iron, and fastened to a strong axletree, which moves therefore together with the wheels, and turns in a round hole made through a square piece of wood, which is transversely fixed to the bottom of the cart. The cottages of the common people are built of clay, and thatched with straw; and are small, but cleanly and cool. The inhabitants were in general fairer than those of Madeira; their features, though similar, were however somewhat softer; and their dress was in general much more decent and comfortable, consisting of coarse linen shirts and drawers, with blue or brown jackets, and boots on the legs. A short jacket and petticoat is the dress of the women, whose hair is tied in a bunch behind, and whose features are not always disagreeable. When they go to town, they put on a cloak which covers their heads, leaving only a small opening for the eyes, and is tied round the waist. The men likewise add a broad-brimmed hat and a cloak upon these occasions. Wherever we came we found them employed; in the fields reaping their corn, or at home in various other branches of husbandry; and not one idle beggar made his appearance, by which means the difference between this island and Madeira became still more striking. We rambled to some groves and wild shrubberies on the summits of the hills, where we found abundance of myrtles growing wild among tall aspen-trees, and great quantities of beeches, which being called *faya* (*fagus*),

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in the Portuguese language, have, it is said, given occasion to name the island Fayal. The prospect from these eminences was very delightful, the town and road lying as it were under our feet, and the island of Pico opposite, at the distance of two or three leagues. A number of canary-birds, blackbirds, and other song-birds were heard on all sides; and their harmony was the more enchanting, as it put us in mind of those European scenes from which we had so long been absent. The whole country was filled with a variety of birds, among which we particularly noticed prodigious numbers of common quails, some American woodcocks, and a small species of hawks, from whence this group of islands was named Açores, that being the Portuguese name of a hawk. The prodigious heat of the day obliged us to return to the town about noon, and to take shelter in the lofty cool rooms of the consul's house. I was however too much pleased with the appearance of the country to pass the whole afternoon in town, and therefore accompanied Mr. Wales, Mr. Patton, Mr. Hodges, and Mr. Gilbert on another excursion. We passed by the Capuchin monastery of St. Antonio, which is situated on the hill; and being particularly desirous of seeing a rivulet, which would naturally embellish the landscape where it flowed, we engaged two lively boys to become our conductors. We now crossed some romantic hills and groves, where Mr. Hodges took several sketches, and soon opened a
fine

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fine rich plain, laid out in corn-fields and pastures, in the midst of which lay the village of Nossa Senhora de la Luz, furrounded by groves of aspen and beech. When we had reached this place we separated, and Mr. Patton and Mr. Hodges only continued to walk to the rivulet with me. We were somewhat disappointed, when we saw a very deep and broad bed of a torrent almost entirely dry, except in one part, where an inconsiderable brook appeared to wind its way among the rocks and stones. However, we were prevailed upon by our conductors to go down into this hollow, where we soon found a great number of young girls assembled about the head of the spring, employed in drawing water. Among them was one who, by her fair complexion and dress, appeared to be of higher rank than the rest; notwithstanding this, she had no manner of advantage over her companions, but like them filled her pails with water from the fountain. We could not help being pleased to find the remains of patriarchal simplicity among a civilized people, where the superiority of rank is commonly marked by pride and indolence. From hence we walked along the bed of the river, which we were told is filled to the top in winter, when heavy rains usually happen in this island. The people told us they expected a shower, and had, for that reason, laid great quantities of flax in bundles into the dry bed of the torrent, in order to be soaked. This flax appeared to be long, and of a good quality, and is manufactured

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nufactured into coarse linens on the island. We came back to town much fatigued, when it began to grow dark, after having called at a peasant's house on the road, where we drank some of the common wine of the country, which has a bitter taste, but seems to be very wholesome. The rain, which the people expected, really set in as soon as we were returned; and I was told it would be of infinite value to the islands at this season, by swelling the grapes with juice, which otherwise remain no bigger than currants. During my absence, my father had conversed with several Portuguese, especially with the clergyman I mentioned before, from whom he obtained some particulars relative to the Açores, which have enabled me to give the following account of them.

The Açores were first discovered by some Flemish ships, in 1439, when several families of that nation settled at Fayal, where one of the parishes still bears the name of Flamingos. For this reason some of the old geographers have called them the Flemish Islands. In 1447, the Portuguese discovered the island of St. Maria, which is the easternmost of this group, then St. Miguel (Michael) and next Terceira. Don Gonzalo Velho Cabral, commander of Almuros, settled on Terceira in 1449, and founded the city of Angra. The islands of St. George, Graciosa, Pico, and Fayal, were likewise successively seen, and settled; and last of all, the two westernmost of the group, were discovered

discovered, and named Flores and Corvo, from the abundance of flowers on the one, and of crows on the other.

These islands, which are all fertile, and at present inhabited by an industrious race of people, are commanded by a governor-general, who resides at Angra in Terceira. The present governor was Don Anton da Almada, who is universally esteemed on account of his good-nature, and abhorrence of all kinds of extortion and oppression. Instead of accumulating a fortune in his post, he has spent much more than his income, living in great splendor on purpose to benefit the islands, for which reason he was continued six years in his government, though it is customary to keep it only three years in the same hands. His successor, Don Luis de Tal Pilatus, was however daily expected from Lisbon, together with a new bishop of Angra. The bishop's diocese extends over all the Açores, and he has twelve canons in his cathedral. His income is paid in wheat, and consists of 300 *muy*s, or measures of twenty-four bushels. Each *muy* at the lowest is worth, four pounds sterling, consequently he has at least twelve hundred pounds sterling a year. Every island is commanded by a *Capitan Mór*, who is a kind of deputy governor, or commandant, and directs the police, militia, and revenue. A *Juiz* or judge, is at the head of the law department in every island, from whom they appeal to a higher court at Terceira, and from thence to the supreme court at Lisbon.

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The natives of these islands are said to be very quarrelsome, and have law-suits constantly depending.

The isle of Corvo, is the least of the Açores, and contains scarcely six hundred inhabitants, who chiefly cultivate wheat, and feed hogs, exporting annually a small quantity of bacon.

The isle of Flores is something larger, more fertile and more populous. Its exports amount to six hundred *muids* of wheat, besides a quantity of bacon. But as no wine is made in both these islands, the inhabitants are obliged to import a quantity for their consumption from Fayal. A large Spanish ship of war, richly laden, was lost upon the coast of Flores many years ago; her crew and all her treasures however were saved. These Spaniards introduced the venereal disease upon the island, where it was never known before, and their riches being an irresistible temptation with many women, every individual inhabitant was soon infected. To expiate this crime in some measure, they have built a church at a great expence, which is now reckoned the handsomest building in all the Açores. The evil has however maintained its ground, and as in Peru, or in some parts of Siberia, no inhabitant of Flores is free from it.

Fayal is one of the larger islands in the group, being nine leagues long from east to west, and about four leagues broad. Its present commandant, or *Capitan Mór*, is called Senhor Thomas Francisco Brum de Silveyra; he has the character

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character of a greedy covetous man, and always lives in the country, in order to avoid shewing civilities to strangers, or keeping company with the inhabitants of the town. The judge of Fayal was then expected from Portugal, with the new governor-general. The head of the clergy on the island, is only styled *oviedor* or auditor, and was the vicar of the principal church in the town.

Learning is much discountenanced at Fayal, as in all the Açores, and in Portugal itself. M. de Fleurieu with M. Pingré, the French astronomer, who went out to try some time-keepers, were not permitted to land their instruments at Terceira, it being apprehended that they meant to do some mischief to the island *. Upwards of two years ago, an impost of two *reys* † was laid on each *canari* of wine, made in Fayal and Pico, which amounts to something more than a shilling per pipe, and produces about one thousand pounds a year. This revenue was to be raised under pretence of providing the salary of three professors, to be established at Fayal, after undergoing an examination at Lisbon. But unfortunately for science, and for the inhabitants of the island, the money was no sooner collected, than it was applied to

* Our astronomer did not expose himself to a refusal; but fixed the quadrant, and observed in the garden adjoining to the consul's house, unknown to all the Portuguese.

† A *rey* is about the twelfth part of a penny sterling, and a *canari* is somewhat larger than a gallon.

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a very different use, and now serves to pay and support the garrison, which nominally consists of one hundred, but in effect of only forty men, without either discipline or arms. In consequence of this abuse, there are at present no public institutions for the improvement of children, and those only who can afford to pay for instruction, can give their children a lettered education. There is a professor appointed indeed, who has passed the examination; but as he receives no salary, he poorly earns his bread by teaching the rudiments of Latin. It must be confessed, that the impost upon the wine, is not the only one which is misapplied in this island. There is another much more considerable, of two per cent. laid on all the exports, the produce of which is intended to maintain the fortifications in good repair. However, it is at present thought fit to suffer the batteries to decay, and to transmit the money to Terceira, where it is not better employed. One tenth on all the productions of the Açores belong to the king, and the single article of tobacco, which is monopolized by the crown, brings in a considerable sum. The possession of these islands, small as they are, can therefore never be indifferent to Portugal.

Wheat and maize are the chief products of Fayal; and of the former, it sends several ship loads to Lisbon in plentiful years. Some flax is likewise raised there; but the wine known by the name of Fayal wine, is all raised on the island of Pico, which lies directly opposite, and has no harbour.

harbour. The number of inhabitants in Fayal is computed at 15000, distributed in twelve parishes; and one third of the number live in the town, or Villa da Horta, which contains three of the above parishes. Its road or bay is reckoned tolerably safe in summer, but in winter it is open to south and south-east winds, which, I was told, blow hard at that season. However, as the bottom is a good sand, the American vessels sometimes ride there in the worst weather, by three or four anchors. The wine of Pico is chiefly carried from Fayal to North America, and to Brasil.

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The isle of Pico has its name from the peak or high mountain upon it, which is frequently capd with clouds, and serves the inhabitants of Fayal nearly the same purpose as a barometer. The island is not only the greatest, but also the most populous of the Açores, containing 30000 inhabitants. It has no corn-fields, being every where covered with vineyards, which have a most enchanting appearance on the easy slope at the foot of the mountain. The corn, and other necessaries for the consumption of the natives, are therefore supplied from Fayal, most of the principal families of that island having large possessions on the opposite, or western part of Pico. The season of vintage, is the season of mirth and festivity, when a fourth, or even a third part of the inhabitants of Fayal, remove to Pico with their families, down to the smallest domestic animals.

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It is affirmed that a quantity of grapes, which would yield three thousand pipes of wine, are eaten at that time, every person indulging his taste with this delicious fruit, though no people are more sober and frugal at their meals than the Portuguese. Formerly the vintage produced annually 30000, and sometimes in fortunate years 37000 pipes of wine; but a kind of disease attacked the vines some years ago, which causes the leaves to drop off, at the time when the grapes require to be sheltered from the sun*. Of late however they have recovered, and at present yield from 18000 to 20000 pipes a year. The best wine is made on the west side of the island, in the vineyards which belong to the natives of Fayal. That which is raised on the opposite side, is converted into brandy, of which one pipe is made from three or four pipes of wine. The best sort of wine is tart, but pleasant, and has a good body, which improves greatly by being kept; a pipe of it is sold on the spot for between four and five pounds sterling. A small quantity of sweet wine is likewise made, which they call *passada*, and of which the pipe is sold at the rate of seven or eight pounds sterling.

St. George is a small narrow island, very steep, and of considerable height. It is inhabited by 5000 persons, who cultivate much wheat, but scarcely any wine.

* I suspect this to be caused by some species of insects.

Graciosa has a more gentle slope than the former, but is likewise very small, and chiefly produces wheat, having 3000 inhabitants. A small quantity of indifferent wine is likewise made on it, which is converted into brandy; from five to six pipes of wine being required to make one pipe of brandy. Graciosa and St. George likewise have some pastures, and export cheese and butter.

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Terceira is the largest island, next to Pico, of all the Açores. It is highly cultivated with wheat, and likewise produces some bad wine. As it is the residence of the governor-general, and of the superior court of justice, as well as a bishop's see, it has some kind of importance above the rest. Its inhabitants are computed at 20,000, and its exports consist in wheat, which is sent to Lisbon.

St. Miguel is likewise of considerable extent, very fertile and populous, containing about 25,000 inhabitants. They cultivate no vines, but abundance of wheat and flax. Of the latter they manufacture such a quantity of coarse linens, that three ship-loads of them are annually sent to Brasil. The linen is about two feet wide, and the *vara** of the common sort is sold for about one shilling and six pence, which is to all appearance a very high price. The principal place on this island is a city named Ponte de Gada.

Santa Maria is the south-eastermost of all the Açores, and produces plenty of wheat. The inhabitants amount

* Portuguese yard.

to 5000, some of whom manufacture a kind of coarse earthen-ware, with which they supply all the islands. They have likewise built two small ships lately, of wood which grew in their own island.

I flatter myself that the above particulars, though insufficient to give a perfect idea of the Açores, will not be unacceptable to my readers, especially as these islands, being seldom visited by Europeans, are little known, notwithstanding their short distance from us.

We passed the Sunday in visiting several churches, and accompanied captain Cook, in the afternoon, to the different convents. Each of them has a church annexed to it, where we commonly saw two pulpits, opposite to each other. It is usual here, at certain stated times, to allow the devil to defend himself in one of these pulpits, whilst he is arraigned in the other ; but at the same time it may be superfluous to mention, that Satan is always sure to be defeated, though his opponent were the most ignorant monk that ever was fattened in a convent. Most of the altars are made of cedar wood, and perfume the whole church very agreeably. In the evening we saw a great procession, at which all the clergy in town assisted; and where most of the principal inhabitants likewise took part, by walking in black gowns before the Host. The commercial intercourse with the North-Americans seems to have abated the spirit of persecution, of which the church of Rome is sometimes accused

in other countries. When the host passes, no person is insulted, who does not choose to perform an act of adoration; and strangers in particular are treated with a degree of civility on this subject, which they do not meet with in the polite but slavish metropolis of France.

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We took a walk the next morning upon the hills to the northward of the town, which furnished some of the most beautiful prospects. All the roads were lined with tall shady trees, and on both sides were corn-fields, gardens, and orchards. We were able to overlook the whole plain, in which the village of Nossa Senhora de la Luz is situated, and beyond it viewed a ridge of hills, which lead to the highest part of the island. There is a deep circular valley, as I was informed by the inhabitants, on the summit of one of the hills, about nine miles from the town. This cavity is about two leagues in circumference, and its sides slope uniformly down, covered with a rich herbage, where many sheep are grazing in flocks, which, though belonging to private persons, are almost entirely wild. Rabbits and quails likewise are plentiful on its sides, and at the bottom there is a lake of fresh water, well stocked with wild-ducks. The water is said to be about four or five feet deep all over it. This excavation, called La Caldeira, or the Kettle, from its figure, seems to be the crater of a former volcano; which becomes so much the more probable, as we know that some other volcanos have existed in the

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Açores. That remarkable mountain, which rose to the surface of the sea, forming a new island, in the year 1638, close to the islands of St. Michael, was doubtless produced by the action of a very powerful volcano ; and though it sunk again within a short space of time after its formation, yet its momentary appearance sufficiently overthrows the assertion, that only the highest peaks of the world can have internal fires *. The island which appeared between Terceira and St. Michael, in November 1720, was exactly of the same nature, and confirms the above circumstances. The lofty summit of Pico likewise constantly emits a smoke, which we were assured of by a Portuguese captain, named Xaviers, who had taken the pains to climb to the top ; and this smoke may be seen on fair days at Fayal, very early in the morning. Earthquakes are likewise very common at all the Açores, and several shocks were felt at Fayal three weeks before our arrival. It appears therefore that almost all the islands of the Atlantic Ocean, like those of the South Sea, have vestiges of former volcanos, or still contain burning mountains, at this moment.

* See an account of this remarkable volcano in the *Memoires de l'Acad. de Paris*, de 1721, p. 26. Ibid, 1722, p. 12. *Phil. Transf. abridged*, vol. VI. p. 154. and *Raspe Specimen Hist. Nat. Globi Terraquei*. Amst. 1763. p. 115. The last mentioned author has collected every thing relating to the history of volcanic islands, known at the time when he wrote ; and having treated the subject as a man of science and genius, his book is very fit to be perused by the tribe of shallow pretenders to knowledge, who dress in borrowed plumes.

We returned to town, after visiting the country-house and gardens belonging to one of the principal inhabitants, which were contrived with more taste than could be expected in this island. We were extremely sensible of the heat, which was very great at this season, though we came from the torrid zone. In general, however, the climate of the Açores is said to be very happy, salubrious, and temperate. The severities of winter are never felt; the winds indeed are sometimes boisterous at that season, and the rains more frequent, but frost and snow appear only on the higher parts of the peak. The spring and autumn, as also the greatest part of summer, are reckoned delightful; since a fine breeze of wind commonly cools the air sufficiently to mitigate the heat of the sun.

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In the afternoon, M. Estries, the French consul, went with me to the convent of St. Clare, where his whole family paid a visit to his sisters, who had taken the veil. I was much surprised, that not even the female relations were admitted within the parlour grates, as this degree of rigid sequestration is uncommon. It is customary for the nuns to offer their visitors some dainties to eat, but here they served up a whole repast, which consisted of several rich and luscious dishes. That the mind can be at ease, and disposed to spiritual meditation, when the body is exhausted with abstinence and watching, seems to be improbable; but whether the opposite extreme, the luxury of a well furnished table, is better suited to that

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principal intent of monastic life, may be doubted with equal justice.

The next day, about noon, having taken leave of all our acquaintance, we returned on board with the consul, and several Portuguese, who honoured us with their company at dinner; we passed the afternoon very agreeably, their conversation being easy and chearful, the reverse of that haughty taciturnity which is the general character of the Portuguese nobility at Madeira. They were put on shore in the evening, and at four the next morning we weighed, and set sail with a fair wind.

Wednesd. 19.

We passed by the islands of St. George and Graciosa, and came in sight of Terceira at noon. About three o'clock in the afternoon we sailed along its north side, which exhibited the richest corn-fields, and various villages surrounded by trees. We took leave of it in the evening, and then directed our course to the channel. On the 29th, at four o'clock, we saw the Start Point and Eddystone light-house near it, the same parts of the English shores which we had last seen

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at the beginning of the voyage. The next morning we passed through the Needles, and swiftly sailing between the Isle of Wight and the fertile shores of Hampshire, came to an anchor a little before noon at Spithead.

Thus, after escaping innumerable dangers, and suffering a long series of hardships, we happily completed a voyage, which had lasted three years and sixteen days; in the
course

course of which, it is computed we run over a greater space of sea than any ship ever did before us; since, taking all our tracks together, they form more than thrice the circumference of the globe. We were likewise fortunate enough to lose only four men; three of whom died by accident, and one by a disease, which would perhaps have brought him to the grave much sooner had he continued in England*. The principal view of our expedition, the search after a southern continent within the bounds of the temperate zone, was fulfilled; we had even searched the frozen seas of the opposite hemisphere, within the antarctic circle, without meeting with that vast tract of land which had formerly been supposed to exist. At the same time, we had made another discovery important to science, that nature forms great masses of ice in the midst of the wide ocean, which are destitute of any saline particles, but have all the useful and salubrious qualities of the pure element. At other seasons we explored the Pacific Ocean between the tropics, and in the temperate zone; and there furnished geographers with new islands, naturalists with new plants and birds, and,

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* From the bills of mortality in Europe, it is computed that three men in a hundred annually die; according to which, we should have lost at least ten men. Therefore, notwithstanding the best precautions may be taken for the future, yet, from the chance or probability of events, another ship may not preserve her men in the same proportion as ours; and it would be extremely rash to suppose that this exception could always be produced, merely by the prophylactics and antiscorbutics we had on board.

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above all, the friends of mankind with various modifications of human nature. In one extreme we saw, and not without compassion, the dull, hungry, deformed savages of Tierra del Fuego, incapable of guarding against the feverities of their wretched climate, and having their mental faculties reduced to that miserable situation which places them next to brutes. In the other, the happier tribes of the Society Islands, beautifully formed, placed in a delightful climate, which supplies all their wants; sensible of the advantages of a well-ordered society, affectionate towards each other, and accustomed to gratify their senses, even till they lead to excesses. From the contemplation of these different characters, the advantages, the blessings which civilization and revealed religion have diffused over our part of the globe, will become more and more obvious to the impartial enquirer. He will acknowledge, with a thankful heart, that incomprehensible goodness which has given him a distinguished superiority over so many of his fellow-creatures, who follow the impulse of their senses, without knowing the nature or name of virtue; without being able to form that great idea of general order, which could alone convey to them a just conception of the Creator. Upon the whole, nothing appears more evident, than that the additions to the stock of human knowledge which have been made during this voyage, however considerable they may be when put in competition with what was known before,

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are of small moment when compared with the immense variety of unknown objects which, even in our present confined situation, are still within our reach, and which, for ages to come, will probably open new and extensive fields, where the human soul will have room to expatiate, and display its faculties with superior lustre.

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——Vedi insieme l'uno e l'altro polo,
Le stelle vaghe e lor viaggio torto ;
E vedi, 'l veder nostro quanto e corto !

PETRARCA.

F I N I S.



